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ABSTRACT

This document about Denmark has the following four aims: (1) to provide an overview on the vocational education and training system; (2) to describe and evaluate the social partners' (employers, employers' organizations, and unions) role in implementation, management, and control in relation to the vocational training system; (3) to outline the main trends of development in relations between the labor market and the training system; and (4) to analyze the disparate effects of national features at the level of specific industries, including engineering and other metal-using industries, building and construction, and banking. The document contains seven main sections, a bibliography, and seven appendices. Following an introduction, the second section gives background information on the Danish training system. The third section describes the systems including: apprenticeship training courses; labor market training courses; the management system in youth vocational training and labor market training; and the relationship between "trade self-management" and the government. The fourth section describes the operation of the vocational training system at the trade and industry levels. The fifth section explains the social partners' opinions of the training system. The sixth section describes current trends. The seventh section summarizes opinions on the Danish youth and adult training system. The document contains 75 Danish-language references. Within the appendices are nine tables, nine illustrations, diagrams, an index to Danish-language rules governing vocational education, and an explanation of relevant abbreviations. (CML)

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CEDEFOP Document

The role of the social partners in youth and adult vocational education and training in Denmark

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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The role of the social partners in youth and adult vocational education and training in Denmark

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Foreword

This study is one of a series of 12 monographs on the situation in the EC Member States. Through an analysis of existing and historical structures governing cooperation and coordination between the social partners and the public bodies responsible for vocational education and training (excluding general secondary education and university education), it was intended:

a) to carry out an in-depth investigation of the situation commencing with the central regulatory instruments and decision-making levels. These investigations were to examine the situation at regional, local and enterprise levels as well as in industrial sectors in EC Member States, and

b) to develop proposals for the contents and objectives of an improved social dialogue at the various levels.

The reports comprise two sections: a general analysis and a sectoral analysis.

Although the general analysis was, as far as possible, to be reinforced by the sectoral analysis, the two were to be complementary, whereas the conclusions were to be directed more towards objective (b).

The general analysis of the historical development, institutional involvement and problem areas was also to include a description of the current situation with regard to the links between the world of work (employees, employers, industrial sectors and enterprises) and the world of vocational training (in-company, inter company/group training, school-based training - both initial and continuing - private, public and independent vocational training sponsors).

Furthermore, attention was to focus on the degree and nature of the involvement of the social partners in the development, implementation, administration and control of training policy programmes, including the extent and nature of state intervention within the framework of this involvement. The following aspects were to be included:

- analysis of legal regulations and collective framework agreements (education, labour market and social legislation, nature and extent of the autonomous powers of the social partners in the field of vocational training as specified in general collective agreements, sectoral agreements and typical enterprise-related agreements), and

- investigation of the problems relating to existing cooperative approaches to vocational training, particularly with a view to the equal distribution of training provision amongst various target groups (women, young people, adults, early school leavers, foreigners, etc.) and amongst the various regions and sectors, and finally

- description of the different methods of state intervention aimed at promoting the social dialogue on the basis of selected situations and regions or sectors.

In order to illustrate and give a realistic description of the existing situation, the nature and extent of cooperation amongst the social partners and government bodies were to be analysed in three sectors:

- in a sector dominated by small and medium enterprises or craft industries, e.g. the construction sector;

- in a sector characterized by modern industrial technology, e.g. the metal or electronics industries, and

- in a sector in which services and the employment of female labour are predominant, e.g. banks and insurance companies.

In these sectors the intention was to analyse and compare work-place, employment and occupational structures (hierarchy) in specific areas in which appropriate data were available. The aim was to identify any differences in the social relationships between employees and employers, and to evaluate the involvement and participation of employees and their organizations in initial and continuing vocational training activities, including any eventual implications for career advancement.

The sectoral analysis was intended to illustrate the more general analyses and assessments, and to substantiate and supplement the findings with concrete descriptions. In this connection, the intention was not to carry out case studies but rather to evaluate existing studies and collective agreements between the social partners in respect of initial and continuing vocational training.

The research work was usually accompanied at national level by individual ad hoc meetings between the institute(s) under contract and the three Management Board members from the respective country, and at EC level by regular discussions organized by CEDEFOP and the contractual partners from other Member States.

The investigation covered a period of seven months. In the second half of 1986, the studies were carried out in Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom and they were concluded in early 1987. The studies in the other Member States were conducted in the course of 1987. A synthesis report to be prepared on the basis of the twelve country reports, will attempt to collate systematically the most important conclusions, common trends and results in order to promote the dialogue between those concerned both in the Member States and at EC level.

The individuals, independent scientists and scientific institutes under contract were, of course, free to adapt the set outline for all twelve investigations to the prevailing conditions and existing institutional framework in their respective countries.

On behalf of the authors, too, I should like to extend my sincere thanks to the members of the CEDEFOP Management Board from the respective Member States and to the numerous experts and individuals from the enterprises, training and other bodies, and to employers' and trade union organizations for their support in this work. We hope that this investigation will help to promote better and constructive understanding, despite the existence of very different interests, and thus lead to satisfactory solutions to the prevailing problems facing the development of initial and continuing vocational training. Thanks are also extended to the team of authors for the fruitful and successful cooperation on what was certainly not an easy subject for investigation.

B. Sellin
Project Coordinator

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Foreword:

Presentation of the CEDEFOP-project:
'The role of the social partners in vocational education and training, including continuing education and training'

'The European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training' (CEDEFOP) has been preparing during the last few years a survey of the role of the social partners (employers' and employees' organizations) in youth and adult vocational training in the EC-member-States. On the basis of a preliminary study, during the summer of 1986 surveys were started in 7 member-States - Italy, UK, West Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Denmark - and these are supplemented by analyses of the role of the employers' organizations and of the trade unions, respectively, at international level.

This report is thus the Danish contribution to a number of parallel studies instigated and co-ordinated by CEDEFOP.

The official English title of CEDEFOP's programme for research contracts of March 1986 was "The role of the social partners in vocational education and training (project No. 1.236/1986)". Among the tasks specified in the project description was that, in addition to providing a general description of the national vocational training systems, the national contributions should exemplify it within three economic sectors, namely engineering and other metal-using industry, building and construction, and banking. It was provided also that a follow-up with actual comparative studies should take place after the conclusion of the first national studies, of which there are provisionally 7, this Danish study being one of them. The report has therefore been arranged with a view to the comparisons in the later phase with conditions in other countries, and it places the main emphasis upon special features and characteristics in the Danish system such as they may appear to the people of other countries. What the nature of the further step to an actual comparative survey will be, is not yet clear. Whereas the function of earlier projects under CEDEFOP has been primarily to describe the national educational and training systems, this project is focussed upon the role of the social partners in basic vocational education and training and also continuing education and training.

The common guidelines for the general national studies are firstly to provide problematical, but nevertheless easily compared, overviews of the vocational educational and training systems. Large parts of the Danish contribution are therefore directed towards the description of bodies (councils, committees, etc.) on which the social partners are represented, and towards providing a picture of their advisory/decision-making powers. The aim here is to evaluate the co-operative relationships between trade union, employers and public authorities.

Secondly, the social partners' role in implementation, management and control in relation to the vocational training systems is described and evaluated.

Thirdly, the main trends of development in relations between the labour market and the training system are outlined.

Lastly, the general analysis will be backed up by industry-level analyses, especially with a view to the disparate effects of the national special features at industry-level.

The analyses at industry-level will deal with engineering and other metal-using industry, building and construction and banking.

The national analyses are being followed by the different countries' representatives on the CEDEFOP managing board.

The contract for the Danish contribution was awarded to the Department of Industrial Sociology, TI, and the Institute for Education and Socialization, AUC, jointly. John Houman Sørensen, AUC, has been responsible for project management for the Danish contribution. In the course of the project he held a post in the Department of Industrial Sociology, TI, and carried out the work in close collaboration with Grethe Jensen of TI. (See also Section 1, subsection 1.3, for further details of the arrangement of the work.)

The work has been followed by a group consisting of the Danish representatives on the CEDEFOP board, namely Birgit Bududu, Ministry of Education/Directorate for Vocational Training, Margit Hurup Grove, Danish Employers' Association (DA), and Chr. Aagaard Hansen, Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), together with representatives of the labour market organizations at industry-level:

Engineering industry:
Ole Westermann, Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association, and
Henning Kryger Sørensen, Danish Skilled Metal Workers Union

Building and construction:
Jørgen Avnegaard, Contractors' Association, and
Vilhelm Pedersen, Un-skilled Workers' Union (SiD).

Banks:
Kurt Knudsen, Negotiation-Association of the Danish Banks (DBF), and
Søren Petersen, Danish Bank Employees Union (DBL).

In addition, Hans Glendrup, DA, and Jørgen Pedersen, AMU-Directorate, were members of the management team. Poul Hansen, SiD, replaced Vilhelm Pedersen at the last few meetings.

The authors alone, John Houman Sørensen, AUC, and Grethe Jensen, TI, were responsible for giving final shape to the report.

A list of abbreviations and short word-explanations, which will facilitate reading and understanding the report, can be found at appendix VII, the last pages in the report.

Copenhagen, June 1987.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The main purpose of the report

In Denmark, the influence exerted by the social partners upon youth and adult vocational training is very important compared with the public authorities' influence. It is of the nature of an historical compromise, which has existed for so long that people have almost forgotten which combinations of conflicts of interests and possibilities for alliance determined the social partners' decisive role.

Within the very last few years, however, a development has taken place which can perhaps change to some extent the focus of the influence. In the summer of 1985, two laws were passed within the sphere of adult education. One was the Law concerning labour market training ('lov om arbejdsmarkedsuddannelser')[1]. This does not alter directly the more fundamental features of Danish labour-market training policy; but inherent in it is the possibility of more influence being exerted locally and by firms. The second law, the Ministry of Education's Law concerning training,[2] is aimed at also supporting activities outside the scope of the traditional labour-market training systems and, being directed towards a more flexible continuing vocational training and more closely oriented at the training requirements of individual firms, it may indicate some important changes. Other forms of adult and continuing education and training will not be discussed in this study, regardless of whether or not they are supported by public sources.

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[1] Law No.237 of 6 June 1985.

[2] Law No.271 of 6 June 1985.

The same applies to youth vocational training; only those schemes which take place in pursuance of laws or under agreements (in forms parallel to the general tariff agreements between the parties of the labour market) and which explicitly aim at vocational qualifications, are included.

Changes are also on the way within youth vocational training systems. In August 1985 the Ministry of Education commissioned a firm of consultants to carry out a survey of the management of vocational training schemes. The Ministry wished to know how problems of funding and reorganization could be handled, how more effective and economic management of Technical Schools (TS) and Business Schools (HS - Handelsskoler) could be achieved and how the Ministry of Education's overall financial control could be improved.

In May 1986 the Ministry set up a committee to review the two existing laws on vocational training, the Law concerning apprentices (lærlingeloven) of 1956 [3] and the EFG-Law of 1977 [4]. In the terms of reference for the committee [5] many advantages of the social partners' importance for the system were emphasized - at the same time, however, criticism of rigidity and lack of innovation was expressed. The main task was to formulate proposals for a comprehensive vocational training system to replace EFG and the apprenticeship course ('mesterlæren') as parallel and competing vocational training courses, both building on the alternance training-principle.

The law-amendment committee was originally asked to complete the work by December 1986. It is now apparently to be completed by May - which means that the bill can be tabled in parliament in the autumn of 1987 at the earliest.

A reform of the vocational training-legislation is therefore still uncertain, since a general election is to be called in the autumn. However, an attempt will be made later in section 6 to assess possible development tendencies.

---

3 Law No.261 of 2 October 1956.

4 Law No.289 of 8 June 1977, Law concerning initial vocational training (The 'EFG'-Law).

5 Often referred to as the 'Nordskov-Nielsen-committee', after the name of the chairman.

For this type of survey, which includes indicating probable development tendencies, uncertainty concerning a possible reform of vocational training is both an advantage and a disadvantage.

The disadvantage is that a report from the law-amendment committee in December 1986 might have provided a more certain basis by stating development tendencies.

The advantage is that, with the prospect of major changes, the participants' more routine administration and implementation of policy are supplemented by keener awareness of the situation regarding special interests of each of the involved parties. This has enabled clearer elucidation of fundamental advantages and disadvantages of the Danish system, as viewed from the positions of the parties involved. In so far as it has been possible to identify different interests and their possible constellations, a certain margin of latitude can also be specified, within which the future development of the vocational training systems will probably move.

An attempt will be made to specify the outer boundaries of this latitude. We think that we can identify them on the basis of the Laws concerning apprentices of 1937 and 1956 and the Law concerning semi-skilled workers of 1960 [6].

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[6] Law of 18 May 1960 concerning vocational training of semi-skilled workers, ('specialarbejderuddannelse' see the list of abbreviations), etc., and re-training.

In these laws some fundamental features of the mode of operation of youth and adult vocational training in Denmark were laid down which, regardless of subsequent amendments, have remained unchallenged as overall structural features for the last quarter of a century.

These overall structural features now have their 50th anniversary in the sphere of apprentice training and are best summed up in the phrase 'trade self-management', to the effect that exceptionally wide powers over the scope and content of the vocational training courses are held by the social partners, in co-operation on a basis of equal representation of the two sides, in a way that has been satisfactory also for the third partner in the co-operation, namely the Government.

The special model for the relationships between development in production, the labour-market organizations and vocational training which is the consequence of 'trade self-management', and the significance of this for the role of the public authorities in vocational and labour-market training, are what must be conceived as the attractive, characteristic element in the Danish situation.

These characteristics and the background to the long tradition behind them are what constitute the main function and the focal point of this survey - and at the same time, therefore, they indicate essential features for the margin of latitude available for future development opportunities.

With the interest in characteristics, special interest-models, structural development tendencies, etc., it must be obvious also that the report presupposes quite good prior knowledge of the Danish training system.

More detailed descriptions for a non-Danish readership would have required a great deal of space. It has been decided instead quite generally to refer to the CEDEFOP Guide (CEDEFOP 1984) and also to the revised, comprehensive description (Copenhagen 1986) of the Danish system by former director Werner Rasmussen, which should be in process of translation in CEDEFOP.

Thus, in this survey only a very brief explanation is given of the structural difference between the apprentice training course ('mesterlaeren') under the Law of 1956 and initial vocational training ('Erhvervsfaglige Grunduddannelse', EFG), supplemented by illustrations of the alternation of the courses through time between school and industrial firm, in Annex II. For detailed consideration of the individual occupations and, in general, for the various types of legislation, see Werner Rasmussen (1986).

1.2. Structure of the report

However, the detailed perusal here is governed by the aim being to elucidate the background to the social partners' influence in relation to the role of the Government.

Section 2 thus attempts to define the main features of the historical development of vocational and labour-market training in this perspective.

Section 3 attempts to provide a more general, structural description. First, the position of alternance training courses in the overall picture of youth education within secondary education in general, and their development with respect to capacity is discussed together with the main features of labour-market training courses, conditions of admission, purpose and scope in relation to the overall proportion of adult hourly-paid workers.

Next, an overview is given of the system of management, and definition of the scope of 'trade self-management' is attempted. This is treated in depth by considering relationships with the machinery of government and considering the development trends and various critical studies of vocational and labour-market training courses which have appeared in recent years.

Section 4 attempts to elucidate the topics from section 3 within the three given sectors - engineering, building and construction, and banking. It starts with a section on methodology, which also refers back to some theoretical problems. Whereas fairly clear, unequivocal definitions can be made in banking, in the other two sectors the three methodological approaches do not coincide:

- an approach on the basis of occupational statistics (the 'production' approach)

- an approach on the basis of membership of the labour-market organizations (employers' organizations and trade unions), (the 'organizational' approach)
- an approach on the basis of educational and training statistics/training management organs (the 'educational & training system' approach).

However, it is not a problem 'purely' of method - it is a reflection of the practical and political forms of mediation between production - organizations - and the training system.

Despite the difficulties, it was therefore decided to keep to the very wide sector-definitions, partly because thereby they can elucidate important aspects of the mode of operation applied in the Danish system, and partly because - from a purely quantitative standpoint - they constitute more than one-half of the apprentice training in the industrial and craft occupations. For the same reason, the section is an important basis providing a broad introduction to the significance of the labour-market organizations in relation to the examination of industry-sectors in the remainder of section 4. This includes a number of thoughts and commentaries on development from representatives of the social partners within the various sectors and occupations.

Commentaries of this kind from the social partners' representatives are included in more general contexts in Section 5, which attempts to make an overall appraisal of 'trade self-management' and of the vocational training system.

These are taken further in Section 6, in which the appraisal of development tendencies - especially those that have appeared in the last few years - is the main topic. It describes different diverging views, for reporting which a certain amount of space is required. However, the amount of this description should not be misinterpreted; on a number of key points there is extensive agreement and satisfaction between all three of the parties involved.

We have tried to make a collective summary of this agreement on key points in Section 7, under 'Summary description of the Danish youth and adult vocational training system'.

1.3. Genesis of the report

Various statistical data, illustrations of training organizations, organizational charts, list of abbreviations, etc., are reproduced in appendixes. Apart from existing literature, official reports, documents, etc., the most important source for the survey has been a number of interviews - both older ones from previous surveys in which the authors took part, and a number made between November 1986 and February 1987. The great majority of the latter are with representatives of the organizations, mostly at industry- and trade union-level, others at the level of the main organization; but all also members of committees with equal representation of both sides in vocational and labour-market training systems. A smaller number are interviews with officers from the directorates - which, on the other hand, are well covered in the older interviews and through viewpoints expressed in various public reviews and reports.

In the current round, the transcripts of the interviews have been sent to the interviewees for comment, and after any corrections have been made they are used as the information basis for description of the survey, pratly of the actual situation within an area and partly as a description of the organizations' policies and assessments. In some places, especially in Section 4, statements by the interviewees are included as anonymous quotations indicated by quotation marks, but without giving the name of the personal source concerned. The actual quotations can thus be documented and have been included for their illustrative value, to show the ways in which people are thinking and speaking aobut vocational training problems in Denmark. However, seletion of information otherwise provided by the interviewees are, of course, a responsibility that is borne solely by the authors of this report.

The survey was arranged and the report was worked out in detail in collaboration with a management group, the decision to form which was made at a meeting between the Danish members of the CEDEFOP managing board and representatives of a contracting parties, the Technological Institute and AUC, in September 1986.

The management group has held 5 meetings and has had the following members:

Birgit Bududu, Directorate for Vocational Training
Jørgen Pedersen, Directorate for Labour Market Training
Chr. Aagaard Hansen, LO
Vilhelm Petersen, SiD
Henning Kryger Sørensen, Dansk Metal
Margit Hurup Grove, Danish Employers' Association (DA)
Hans Glendrup, Danish Employers' Association (DA)
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The responsibility for the content of the report is borne by the authors alone. John Houman Sørensen, Institute for Education and Socialization, Aalborg University Centre (AUC) was mainly responsible for the arrangement of the work and the writing of the report. Grethe jensen, TI/Department of Industrial Sociology, wrote sub-sections 4.3, 4.5 and 4.7, and otherwise collaborated closely with John Houman Sørensen in gathering and exploiting statistical and other data material, interviews and arrangement of hypoteses, discussion papers, etc., on which the report in its final form is based.

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2. Background to the Danish vocational training system

In the introductory section, the Law concerning apprentices ('lærlingeloven') of 1956 and the Law concerning the training of semi-skilled workers ('specialarbejderuddannelsesloven') of 1960 were mentioned as being of key importance for understanding the Danish vocational training tradition. However, these two laws naturally have roots further back in the progress of events, also. An attempt will be made in what follows to show which special conditions of vocational organization and policy can have exerted influence upon the development of vocational training in Denmark. It will not be a question of a normal historical review [1], but only of trying to elucidate system conditions for handling the production of vocational qualifications:

either - 'privately', i.e. by firms and businesses
or - through intervention by the labour market organizations
or - through intervention by the local authorities (like municipalities) or by the Government.

Throughout its history, the Danish vocational structure has been characterized by the absence of actual large firms or groups of companies. Also, there are very few cases of a larger firm dominating a regional labour market to the extent where the return from the firm's expenditure on training will on the whole only benefit its own potential workforce. Consequently, only very few groups of companies have existed which have their own more comprehensive training facilities - outside the system of vocational training courses, regulated by agreements and by law, which has evolved.

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[1] No standard work exists on this, incidentally - cf. remarks in connection with the Bibliography.

2.1. Crisis in apprentice training under market conditions alone/under the conditions of 'the invisible hand'

When the constitutional democracy - which in 1849 replaced the autocratic society and estates of the realm - was followed in 1857 by the Law concerning freedom of trade ('næringsfrihedsloven'), the regulation of apprentice training in craft industry and commerce by the guilds was discontinued.

Apprenticeship became a contract under private law alone, and enforcing fulfilment of their obligations by the contracting parties - master craftsman and apprentice - soon became a problem.

Some master craftsmen failed to fulfil the agreement to train the apprentices in the trade, and set them handling simple or specialized operations in the firm instead, as quickly as possible.

Some apprentices left their apprentice post after one or two years of a 4-5-year apprenticeship, if they had managed to learn, with a conscientious master, more or less everything required of an adult journeyman - enabling them to receive an adult skilled tradesman's wage with another employer, instead of continuing for a further 3 years on apprentice's wages with the master craftsman.

Complaints about situations of this kind are already being mentioned by the Workers' Commission of 1875. With the advent of liberalism and discontinuance of the guilds, mutual competition and the pursuit of self-interest became possible on both the apprentice's and the master's side. It was described as 'laxity in the master/apprentice relationship' and was a threat both to a master craftsman's finding that it paid him to arrange proper training and, in the longer term, to there being an adequate supply of skilled workers and office staff for the requirements of industry and business.

Discontinuance of the guilds had not meant that there was no longer any organization within craft industry, commerce and industry; but the functions and nature of the organizations were changed. The functions that were adopted to a constantly increasing extent included the establishment of evening school-instruction for apprentices by the Craftsmen's and Business Associations.

The term 'laxity' thus applied to only a few and the majority of the employers wished to protect and improve apprentice training; they therefore used their own organizations to establish school instruction. In addition, however, the employers' and master craftsmen's organizations pressed for legislation which would ensure that the investment in training was not lost through the apprentice leaving his apprentice post too early.

2.2. Law concerning apprentices of 1889 - establishment of conditions for the conduct of apprentice training by employers and their organizations

The first law concerning apprentices came in 1889. The first draft law was tabled in 1880. The reason why it took so long for the law to be passed lay in the opposition from the Liberal Party ,the 'Venstre' [2], which represented Liberalism and the agricultural interests in free competition in the urban businesses; it was feared that there would be a return to the monopoly prices of the guild-era for the products of the town businesses, and that the possibility for village craftsmen to keep apprentices would be attacked.

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[2] For this and other party-names in the following text, see Annex VIII, List of abbreviations, under 'Political parties'.

When the law was ultimately passed in 1889, the Liberal Party had overcome these criticisms. The Social Democratic Party - and the trade union movement - were in no way satisfied, however. They wanted apprentice workshops run by the local authority and, where applicable, inviting of particularly suitable workshops and master craftsmen to tender for the job of providing acceptable, thorough training of apprentices, against payment. The position of the Social Democratic Party was thus directed towards protecting the purpose of training.

The Law of 1889 did not include any guarantees for this; it is primarily a prescription for the legal content of the apprentice's indentures which, in order to be valid, had to be registered with the police. The Law thereby also conferred powers enabling a public law-enforcement authority to be used to ensure performance of the contract - which in practice meant that master craftsmen could insure themselves against breach of the training agreement by apprentices.

In the same period - before the Law concerning apprentices, as a matter of fact - Government grants were beginning to be made for instruction at technical schools and, during the 1890's, to the business schools.

Commerce and industry's own conduct of vocational training through the training of apprentices in firms was thus supplemented by joint, organization-borne operation - i.e. by the employers' organizations - of the vocational schools, which received grants from public funds.

The basis of the 'organization-borne' system has thus already expanded at the turn of the century - but in this period only with the employers' side as the 'bearer' and with the Government providing financial support conditional only upon the observance of formal rules for the instruction given. A Law concerning governmental inspection of the instruction given by the technical schools was passed in 1916, and a corresponding law for instruction in the business schools in 1920.

2.3. The Labour movement's demand for influence upon apprentice training: The local authorities as a possible channel of influence?

The first breach in this situation came with the increasing involvement of local authorities in the financing of vocational schools. Many authorities had already contributed at an early stage, providing start-up capital for technical schools and business schools. From 1916 onwards minimum local authority-contributions were fixed by law. At about the time of the First World War, therefore, the progress made by the Social Democratic Party in the municipalities resulted in the views of the Labour movement penetrating into the governing boards of the vocational schools.

In the same period a large apprentice-movement came into being, focussing its attention upon training conditions within the firms.

During the period of radicalisation of the Labour movements in Europe which came after the end of the First World War, the Danish Social Democratic Party submitted several times proposals for a new Law concerning apprentices, the aim of which was inspection to ensure that the objectives of apprentice training were fulfilled by the training given by firms. Inspection was to be carried out by commissions appointed by the local authority (and at that time the town-councils of the big and medium sized cities largely had a Social Democratic majority). In 1920 there wasa non-socialist majority in Parliament again and the Liberals ('Venstre') formed a government. The apprentices law passed under this government in 1921 concerned only a few of the problems of the actual training by the firms; but it did make a demand that there should be a person with the relevant trade training - master craftsman or employee - within a training-firm, and it introduced the contractual obligation that young persons under 18 years of age must not be employed on work which formed part of a trade, if they did not have apprentice's indentures in that trade (cf. below in sub-section 3.3.4. concerning the contractual obligation).

During the remainder of the '20s and at the beginning of the '30s, the Social Democratic Party continued trying to to improve apprentice training, through Parliament - with the aim primarily of achieving inspection of the content of the firms' training.

It did not succeed then; nor did it succeed when the Social Democratic Party formed a coalition government with the Social Liberal Party ('Det radikale Venstre') from 1929 onwards. In the latter party, too, the interests of craftsmen and small traders were strongly represented, and there was strong opposition to the idea of the public authority - the local council - indulging in 'prying and snooping', checking on the training activities of master craftsmen.

For the Labour movement as a whole, this was a problem. In the trade union movement, attempts had been made for many years to combat the misuse of apprentices for jobs purely as 'work-boys', and to ensure proper training. The contractual obligation was only a small step forward so long as no check was made that the training obligations were being fulfilled, but was a question only of confidence in the master craftsmen. This confidence could be had in those trades in which the masters allowed the apprentices to take the tests for the journeyman's certificate ('svendeprøver') which were arranged by the Joint Representative Body for Danish Manufacturing and Craft Industry ('Fællesrepræsentation for dansk industri og håndværk'; now: HR, Håndværksrådet (Craft Industry Council) - originally primarily associations of master craftsmen and skilled tradesmen). A second aim of the trade union movement was thus to introduce compulsory journeyman's certificate-tests and to break the masters' sole right to organize and mark these tests. A third aim was to have theoretical and technical instruction made a compulsory adjunct to apprentice training - and organized as day-time education, or at least in the form of shortened evening classes, and with reduction of the apprentices' working week towards the normal working week.

Together with the demand for 'apprentice commissions' to approve apprenticeships and monitor the training - which had been the most controversial topic in Parliament - these topics formed a fairly large set of trade union-demands for apprenticeship training, which had been on the agenda continuously since the end of the First World War.

The draft 1937-law became a breach in the Labour movement's parliamentary strategy hitherto, of trying to put through official inspection of apprentice training, with the public sector - the local authorities - as the instrument for this.

2.4. Development of common interest between the social partners within the iron and steel and metal-working industry, in training-rules and inspection of in-firm training

Attention was directed, instead, towards the forms of regulation of apprentice training that had been developed on the labour market.

Collective self-discipline - without formal sanctions - has probably always been in operation among the ranks of the master craftsmen; it can be effective, of course, paticularly in the closer social relationships. As early as in 1909 the moulders' trade in the iron and steel industry had set up a trade committee with equal representation, which tried to formulate training-rules and inspected apprentice workshops.

During the '20s the lack of uniformity and incompleteness in what various skilled metal-workers were actually capable of appears to have become a problem for the iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry, since many became 'skilled' or 'trained' merely by working on what were ordinary day-to-day jobs in the workshop. If they were narrowly specialized or remote from the traditional production tasks of the smithies, forges and machine shops - as in the motor vehicle-repair shops which were flourishing at that time, for example - then it was a problem for the many rather larger firms such as the forges and machine shops which formed the core of the employers' organization and employed the bulk of the skilled metal-workers.

However, it was a problem also for the trade union federation of that time - the Danish Forge and Engineering and Metal Workers' Federation, DSMF. It wished to provide for its members - and also the apprentices as future members - a vocational qualification which was both modern in content, and broad, so as to be qualification for jobs in most of the metal-working industry. An economic concern the federation for the shorter term was to avoid members being so poorly or so specially qualified that they readily became a charge on the union's unemployment fund. Equally of the short term was the concern to avoid the possibility of apprentice labour being used for anything and, owing to the low wages, thereby becoming a threat to the employment of skilled labour. More of the longer term, the latter concern can also be interpreted more favourably, to the effect that, by ensuring that the apprentices are properly trained a further new supply is assured of persons who can deal with complicated work independently, justifying higher wages; that is to say, protecting the status and continued existence of the trade.

Thus, there seems to be a coincidence of interest between the core in the Association of Employers in the Metal-working Industry (SAM) [3] and DSMF:

- a sufficiently large supply of skilled workers should be assured for the industry as a whole
- 'misuse' of apprentices should be prevented, both because it was a threat to the total supply of 'genuine' skilled workers and because it involved a risk of 'unfair' competition between firms, if some of them were able to base their price calculations on the large-scale use of cheap apprentice-labour.

This coincidence of interests thus means that some (the majority) of the employers in an industry have an interest in dispensing justice for any employers misusing the normal market mechanism on the apprenticeship market. In 1929, the Apprentices Committee of the Metal-working Industry ('Metalindustriens Lærlingsudvalg') was set up as a committee with equal representation as between SAM and DSMF, for the purpose of formulating training-rules and carrying out inspection of apprentice workplaces. As from 1930 it actually took over from the police - without any real legal authority - powers to approve apprentice workplaces in the trade. The police had already made it a routine to question the committee before a contract was approved.

The further course of events has points of similarity, organizationally, with the dynamics of social forces set in operation at the end of the last century when the trade unions were formed and the system of collective agreements was established.

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[3] Since 1980 called the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association ('Jernets Arbejdsgiverforening', JA)

The 1929-agreement concerning the Metal-working Industry's Apprentices Committee can be regarded as a kind of agreement on a guaranteed minimum standard for the training of apprentices, which set limits to the degree to which they could be used as 'work-boys'. When such an 'agreement' is introduced, 'law-abiding' people also become interested in prevention of 'breach of the agreement' by others.

This can be illustrated by what took place in the '30s in a largish Danish provincial town which is divided by a fiord into two, Ålborg and Nørresundby. The employers in Nørresundby complained that their DSMF-sections had been very active in summoning the Metal-working Industry's Apprentices Committee which, when inspection of the workshop was finished, decided whether approval as an apprentice workplace could be granted, for which trade and for what number of posts. The Nørresundby-masters' complaint was that this imposed a number of restrictions upon them, whereas the master craftsmen in Ålborg south of the fiord could use large numbers of apprentices for normal production jobs, because the trade unions there did not show any particular interest in matters concerning apprentices.

The effect was, of course, that something happened also on the Ålborg-side - and like with the original organization-genesis there is a kind of domino effect, once a certain spread of organized control and inspection is reached.

Within very few years of its operation, the Metal-working Industry Apprentices Committee won general recognition and became established generally. The employers' own representatives 'cleaned up' on the masters' side - and on the side of the trade union movement the DSMF also had to distinguish between justified and unjustified complaints from the sections of the Federation concerning conditions for apprentices. The system with a committee having equal representation of both sides is able to bring many associations into the general system of agreements and labour legislation which was established between 1899 and 1910.

2.5. The Social Democratic Party abandons the idea of using public authorities to inspect in-firm training

Instead of attempting to get inspecting-organs - appointed by the local authority - established by parliamentary means, for which bills had been tabled in Parliament almost every single year since 1918, the Social Democratic Party changed over in 1937 to a model attempting to get committees of employers and trade unions, with equal representation, to handle the management of apprentice training.

When the bill was tabled, the Minister for Social Affairs, Ludvig Christensen, of the Social Democratic party [4] said, after first expressing regret about all of the earlier unsuccessful Social Democratic bills concerning inspection of in-firm training: "... However, since virtually all of the responsible people within the trades and business agree that inspection is necessary, and since it therefore has not been possible to adopt the proposal of local inspection, I have decided to place the emphasis upon the trades regarding inspection, and generally to grant the trades a very considerable measure of right of co-determination with respect to the apprentice system." (our underscoring).

Ludvig Christensen referred here to the 1909 Moulders' Joint Committee ('Formernes Faellesudvalg') and to the Metal-working Industry's Apprentices Committee, of both of which he had himself been a member. These committees not only inspected the places of training; they had also drawn up rules for training, both trade and technical.

The key provisions in the 1937-bill were Arts. 19 and 20. In Art.19 rules for trade committees were laid down. With a two-thirds majority-vote, they could make recommendations on training-rules to the Apprentices Council. Likewise with a two-thirds majority, they could refuse to approve places of training and issue binding orders to the contract-approving authority (chief of police).

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[4] 'Rigsdagstidende' - Proceedings of Parliament 1937 (RT-FT col. 2724 f).

The two-thirds-rule for the equal-representation committees thus means that a certain degree of coincidence of interest between the employers' and the trade union movement's representatives is necessary for operation in practice.

In Art.20 the rules are laid down for the composition and work of the Apprentices Council ('laerlingeradet', LR). It has the status of an appeal tribunal and co-ordinating body with respect to the trade committees. The chairman was not - as had been proposed in the earlier draft-law - to be apointed by the minister, but was to be a non-political, neutral person, appointed by the body whose members are appointed by the main labour-market organizations jointly, to deal with disputes concerning agreements - namely, the Permanent Arbitration Tribunal ('Den faste Voldgiftsret'), now the Industrial Court ('Arbejdsretten').

The tradition was thereby founded for 'trade self-management' to deal with areas in which common interests existed - concerning the content of training, for example - and to try to prevent disputes and breaches of agreements in matters concerning apprentices. This tradition also involves attempting to keep actual controversial areas of training policy - questions more of a parliamentary, political nature - outside the domain of 'trade self-management'.

Towards the end of the parliamentary reading of the bill, the Minister for Social Affairs summarized his view of the purposes of the 1937-law as follows:

"Perhaps no more democratic Bill has ever been tabled than this particular one here. It virtually assigns the whole power to workers and employers who, in many areas - indeed, in all of the most important ones - are allowed to make the decision themselves. The areas in which these councils have not been allowed to make the decision are those in which conflicts of interests can arise. In order to keep the Joint Committees neutral, the very things which could create conflicts of interests and thereby make the firm or business less neutral are transferred elsewhere for decision." (col. 2430) (our underscoring).

This does not mean that the 1937-law was passed unanimously. The Social Democratic Party's partner in government, the Social-Liberal Party, found the arrangement reasonable for manufacturing industry, but open to criticism for craft industry and commerce. Moreover, it was feared that 'trade self-management' could result in regression to the conditions of the guild-era.

The non-socialist Opposition ultimately voted against the bill. The Liberal Party had in general been against it, applying liberalistic arguments, whereas the Conservatives were no strangers to the influence of the organizations - corporative co-operation - as a modern solution to the problems. They demanded that the Minister's powers should be taken away in the first bill and be transferred to the Apprentices Council.

The Conservatives thus preferred to go along with the Social Democratic Party and abandon the use of local authorities, in which the Social Democratic Party had achieved a safe political majority in all of the larger towns, together with curtailing opportunities to use any future parliamentary majority (in 1936, SD gained 46.1% of the votes) to carry out comprehensive regulation of apprentice training through the Government.

In addition, the Conservatives wanted the business sector to be treated separately, under a special law, and they supported the demand of banks and insurance companies to be exempt from the law. Finally, they proposed that the Apprentices Council should be divided up and composed in such a way that there would be a majority of employers.

The Opposition's stand against the 1937-law was very solidly based in trade and industry. Besides the rules concerning the setting-up of 'trade committees' which, with a two-thirds majority, could formulate rules for trade training and approve places of training on the basis of equal treatment of the two sides, it also covered the possibility of deciding on compulsory journeyman's certificate-tests, reduction of the maximum training period from 5 to 4 years, reduction of apprentices' working- and instruction-time to

9 hours a day, rules on holidays, etc. Different parts of the business community felt themselves to be encumbered to a greater or lesser extent by different parts of the overall solution, and the employer-associations of commerce and of the craft industry were driving forces in the attempt to establish concerted action against the law. However, the Danish Employers' Association and especially the Council for Industry were hesitant and the campaign against the law therefore soon subsided. During the years 1938-39 a considerable drop in the number of apprentices took place; but this can hardly be described as the result of any actual boycotting movement.

The overall solution in the 1937 law concerning apprentices thus meant also that there were certain points which embarrassed SAM (now JA), which otherwise was favourably disposed, on the whole, towards the establishment of 'trade committees' and to co-operation with the trade union movement on matters concerning apprentices. Organizationally, the 1937-law is the outcome of an alliance between the trade union movement and employers in the metal-working industry and parts of the craft industry. It was carried through Parliament by the Social Democratic Party, the Social-Liberal Party and the Communists, against the votes of all of the other parties.

2.6. The establishment of 'trade self-management' - shielding of the content of apprentice training from parliamentary and political influence

The establishment of 'trade self-management' by the 1937-law was thus not a solution based upon wide approval. It can be taken, rather, to be an expression of the fact that the parliamentary way was so confused that it appeared to the labour movement to be an advantage if legal authority could be obtained - or perhaps delegated governmental powers, rather - for apprentice training to be regulated, trade by trade, in forms of the nature of agreements.

This was the path taken by the Association of Employers in the Metal-working Industry (SAM) itself in co-operation with the trade union movement, in order to ensure that the many small employers who train the majority of apprentices complied with training-rules which could enable them to be used also in the big, modern firms on completion of their apprenticeship.

The way now became open generally for making apprentice training a project of co-operation between the social partners, with the 1937-law - also for trades and industries whose structure and possibilities for alliance between various interests were different. After some disturbance and falling numbers of apprentices in the years immediately following the passing of the law, training-rules and inspection of places of training gradually became more widespread.

However, this 'depoliticisation' through delegation to the trade committees did not embrace all of the subjects of dispute within apprentice training.

2.7. 'Trade self-management' and conflicts of interests in matters of apprentice training

Among the things which, in Ludvig Christensen's words, could create conflicts of interests and were therefore transferred elsewhere for decision, were the pay, working hours and schooling of apprentices.

From 1939 onwards, the fixing of wages as part of the trades' general agreements became common practice. Right up until 1936 there had been examples of employers prohibiting apprentices - in the actual indentures - to organize themselves, in conjunction with the ideological principle that the apprentice's relationship with his master was of the special nature of upbringing, and not like that of a worker with his employer. Apprentices were now recognized de facto as belonging to the working-class, with the right of organization, but not the right to strike. Although the unionized percentage amongst apprentices has not been particularly high, the trade unions have regarded them as potential members whose interests they have protected.

Matters of apprentice wages became matters of common interest and solved as part of the general tariff agreements.

The question of working hours was bound up with schooling, which took place in the evening, in extension of the apprentices' normal working hours.

Long before the 1937-law, the Labour movement had demanded daytime education and demanded that the time for this together with in-firm hours of work should constitute a normal working week. In the preamble to the law a compromise was attempted to the effect that one-half of the instruction-time in the vocational school should be offset in the working-time in the firm. This did not go through, and evening classes additional to a normal working week remained the rule for apprentices. Owing to the question of working hours being bound up with that of schooling, it could not be solved very easily by agreement; the problems of schooling meant that legislation was necessary.

2.8. Demand that the vocational schools should change over to daytime schooling and to separate teaching for each trade and classes corresponding to the progress of the apprentices' technical skills

Evening classes could only be held with a dense network of technical schools and business schools. With the many small schools, instruction could not be divided up by subject, let alone by grade or form within the subjects. The subjects at that time were frequently only Danish, arithmetic and technical drawing, with no specialized theoretical or workshop instruction. Such a small supplement to in-firm instruction was a problem; the inevitable prospect was that training-rules brought up to date in order to meet the changes in qualification requirements would reduce the number of possible training posts.

Problems of this kind appeared within the metal-working industry soon after the Second World War. They could be solved if the role of the technical school in apprentice training were extended - and for the sphere of metal-working, which covers many large trades and accounted for the majority of the students at technical schools, subdivision by subject and class was possible, also with fairly even geographical distribution; but not without such long distances being involved that evening classes would become impossible in most places in the country.

In this way consideration of the need to strengthen the role of the vocational schools, promoting technical and general skills, also came to support - and became part of - the Labour movement's demand for a change-over to daytime classes in apprentice training.

The opposition came from smaller employers and master craftsmen in general. They thought that apprentices were indispensable during the hours of day-to-day working and that their presence throughout the working week was neccessary also to enable the apprentices to learn the complete production process. The opposition came particularly from the smaller trades, however, for which specific trade-instruction could be set up only at one or a few vocational schools, which would have to become boarding schools providing a number of stays, of several weeks' duration, for the apprentices.

However, not until the 1950's were various government initiatives taken to reorganize the labour market for the strong technological and industrial development that was expected. There was also much concern regarding the labour market owing to the years of high birth-rate at the end of the War, which would be reflected in increased demand for apprentice training posts around 1960. In the preparatory work for the 1956 law concerning apprentices, therefore, an attempt was made to make it more attractive to set-up training posts and, from the Government's side, to influence the trade committees in various ways to increase the number of apprentices within their respective trades.

From the parliamentary side, 'trade self-management' was still being met with some mistrust; thus, ultimately, the prohibition of 'apprentice scales' was included in the law, 'Apprentice scales' had been adopted by some trade committees specifying the maximum number of apprentices to each adult skilled tradesman. The reason given was still consideration of training; but some liberal parties regarded this as a restriction of admission - a conspiracy between masters and journeymen which would protect the trade against competition resulting from 'excessive' intake.

From the parliamentary side there was also a following wind for the smaller employers' opposition to daytime schooling - all the more because its introduction would be a costly business, not only for the employers, but also for the national exchequer, in addition to necessarily involving the closure of many small business schools and technical schools, where local and local-authority interests would be affected. About 180 business schools and about 350 technical schools were reduced, within about ten years after 1956, to about 60 and 55 schools, respectively.

But also in 1956, the alliance-model which appeared within the metal-working industry triumphed - with the wishes of the employers for modernising the training, without the number of training posts being affected, on the one hand, and the Metal-working Union's corresponding wishes combined with an undertaking to introduce daytime schooling and the apprentices' normal working hours, on the other.

2.9. 1956 Law concerning apprentices: schooling becomes included in the sphere of influence of 'trade self-management' and becomes, in alternance training, a separate part of the vocational qualification process

However, owing to practical circumstances the day school-principle took a long time to become established. The 1956-law specified a period of 8 years for the trades to change over to day school.

The formulation of a model in which 'trade self-management' reaches agreement as to what reasonable requirements are regarding content, scope and organization of apprentices' instruction at the vocational schools - and obtains public finance for most of the expenditure on this - assumed considerable fundamental importance.

With day-time education, instruction sub-divided into subject and class-year, workshop instruction and introductionary schools, such as became general under the 1956-law, a new fundamental basis was established in

Danish apprentice training: the school-part acquired a separate role in technical, vocational qualification besides in-firm training - with 'trade self-management' as the guiding force. A basic model was thereby established for the apportionment of responsibility between the social partners and the Government in relation to vocational training in Denmark, and was formalized in the 1956 Law concerning apprentices.

Another feature of the attempts to increase the number of possible apprenticeships for the coming large class-years, was the increase in the number of subject areas and specializations which was initiated by several of the trade committees - including especially the Metal-working Industry's Apprentices Committee (ML). The number of apprenticeships was to be increased through further subdivision of subjects, because it was expected that several firms would thus be able to fulfil the more specialized and demarcated requirements regarding the range of workshop training.

Within the metal-working field, on the initiative of the Danish Metal Workers Union (DSMF) some 2-year apprentice training courses were also set up - compared with the normal training period of about 4 years up to that time. This must be considered in connection with the ever-increasing inclusion of unskilled labour in the industrial workforce at the end of the 1950's, as part of the major change-over from the society dominated by agriculture and handicraft to an industry-dominated society.

2.10. Establishment of semi-skilled worker-training in 1960

In the Commission's report concerning the training of unskilled workers [5], the way in which the nature of tasks had changed is detailed - from simpler manual skills which could be learned without further effort, merely by taking part in production, to more complex skills which did not demand any actual trade training, but nevertheless required training in job skills and some technical understanding. The result of the Commission's work was the 1960 Law concerning the training of semi-skilled workers. This training consisted of modular courses of a number of weeks' duration, aimed at actual job qualification in the various trades and industries.

The target group was adult, unskilled workers and the training objective was either a basic qualification for work in, for example, building and construction for persons from other sectors (at that time especially from agriculture), or a further qualification within the trade or industry in which the unskilled worker was already employed.

This last objective could be a potential threat to the unions of skilled workers' areas of employment, to trade

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[5] Report No.221, Copenhagen 1959.

demarcations and to the covering of labour market segments by agreements. It was presumably a threat of this kind which DMSF had tried to avoid with the new 2-year apprentice training courses. However, these courses had hardly any intake and when DSMF complained to the iron and steel employers about this, the answer given was that member-firms could not be compelled to set up training posts, of course. It was presumably thought by SAM, on the side of the metal-working employers, that the need for persons trained on shorter courses could be satisfied better within the system for semi-skilled workers, in the establishment of which they were closely involved.

The system of management of semi-skilled worker-training was based upon some of the same principles as for apprentice training, in that the central organs became the trade committees with equal representation, i.e. 'trade self-management' within semi-skilled worker-training - but with the decisive difference that the employers' side in this case had the union of unskilled workers as a negotiating partner, with them facing the skilled workers' unions across the table on the apprentice-training trade committee.

The separation between the apprentice training system and the system for semi-skilled workers in Denmark is thus not merely a partition between youth vocational training and adult - or continuing - training. It could also form the basis of competition between two forms of basic vocational training for different unions within the trade union movement. The passing of the 1960-law was regarded by the Danish Workers' and Semi-skilled Workers' Union (now SID) and by the Women Workers' Union (KAD) - to mention only the two most important unskilled unions in this connection - as a triumph for a principle of equality, i.e. the winning of a right to basic vocational training for those who had generally been discriminated against with training by society.

The semi-skilled worker courses were located in special schools, most of which were self-owned institutions; but some of them - particularly in trades and industries which required the whole country as a source of recruitment - became state schools and a few were located in firms within the trade or industry concerned. The most important thing was that the training was schooling arranged by the trade committees, 10% of which was paid for by the organizations and 5% by the local authority of the course participants, while 85% of the expenses were paid by the Government - and the participants were paid compensation for loss of earnings. The size of the courses and admission to them was not dependent upon the participants being in employment with an employer; but persons who had, or was promised, employment within the trade or industry concerned had a prior right. The number of unemployed course-participants has been quite large, especially in recent years.

The trade committees could formulate proposals regarding the scope and content of the courses, based upon their assessment of employment opportunities within the industry - and would get them accepted by the funding authority, the Ministry of Labour, considered in relation to the needs of other trades and industries, the assessment of the labour market-situation in general and the possibilities for government finance.

2.11. From ca 1960 onwards: two vocational training systems administered by two versions of 'trade self-management'

It can thus be said that in Denmark from ca 1960 onwards there are two systems of vocational training, although with different contents and different target groups. Both are based upon 'trade self-management', but are tied to their respective ministries, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, and they each have their own system of schooling - the business schools and the technical schools for apprentice training, and the semi-skilled worker schools ('specialarbejderskoler'), referred to as "our schools" by the unskilled unions.

The nature of 'trade self-management' differs slightly as between the two systems; but above all it has a different composition of participants on the trade union movement's side and functions through this relative to different labour market-sectors.

With the 1956-Apprentices Law and the 1960-Semi-skilled Workers Law, the legislature had delegated quite wide powers to the social partners and made the necessary large funds available.

In 1965 'Continued training of skilled workers' was introduced under Government sponsorship, through the Budget and issue of official circulars [6], but without any new legislation. With regard to the form of the training courses, participants' compensation for loss of earnings, etc., it followed, on the whole, the regulations for the semi-skilled worker courses. The skilled worker-sectors had realized that it was very good for them to try to keep apprentice training up to date, but that their adult skilled members also had a need for continued training - whether they were currently in employment or were unemployed, or required re-training in order to escape from a stagnating industry.

The equal-representation managing organs for continued training normally became identical with the trade

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6 Provisional guidelines for grants to fund continuation training courses for skilled workers, etc. Ministry of Labour circular No.166 - 18.6.1965.

committees for apprentice training; the courses normally took place at technical schools and business schools, or in some cases at the Technological Institute or a similar institution.

2.12. EFG - reform of the apprentice training system?

In the second half of the 1960's the intake of apprentices began to become sluggish. At the same time, a comprehensive apprentices' movement came into existence, highly critical of the apprenticeship training and holding views which found wide support in the Labour movement and were also to some extent received sympathetically on the employers' side.

In a commission-project in which equal representation of the social partners was - as usual - strong, experiments were held of what subsequently became known as 'EFG' (basic vocational training) and the main points of criticism against the master-apprentice-system were summarized [7]. These points included narrow specialization from the start of training, together with binding under contract, defective technical training, lack of training more in social

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7 Report No.612, 1971.

skills, lack of opportunity to acquire qualification for further education after completion of apprenticeship, etc.

In so far as trade and industry still wished to ensure an adequate intake of trainees - including the type of young people who had the upper secondary school (gymnasium) as an alternative to apprenticeship - apprentice training had to be reformed. At the same time, owing to the high level of employment, a wide range and flexibility of skilled workers' qualifications became more important than narrow specialization.

In 1968 the first experiments were started with what subsequently became Basic Vocational Training ('Erhvervsfaglig Grunduddannelse'EFG). With EFG, apprentice training began with one year at technical school or business school, in which there was some division of the main discipline into special subject areas, but not until the second half of the year, and in which there was a substantial proportion of general subjects, taking about 40% of the teaching-time. Following this first part, the 'basis-training', the second part was broadly the same as apprentice training to master craftsman, but just under one year shorter and with a slightly different content and amount of attendance at the school.

Simultaneously with the EFG-experiments, the general debate on the societal functioning of education and training became widespread in Denmark in the years after

1968. The possibilities for the system of education and training to serve as a means of reducing the inequalities in society were strongly emphasized by the Social Democratic Party, which also discussed ideas on a 12-year comprehensive system of education. The desire was to reduce the 'residual group' - the proportion of young people who did not receive any qualifying training after primary and lower secondary school. This presupposed a break with the market mechanism, of which the unrestricted right of employers to offer or not to offer apprentice posts is an expression, under the conditions of the prevailing political and economic trends. This did not take place, and no public or governmental regulation of the intake into trade training courses was established.

Nevertheless, in Report No.612, 1971, youth training was shown as an all-embracing system, divided into general upper secondary school- and vocational upper secondary school-lines or courses.

In the experimental law of 1972, relatively rapid development of EFG was anticipated, such that it would replace apprentice training to master craftsman as the basic vocational training. The proposal was also adopted that apprentices should be paid wages in the basis-year, regardless of whether or not they had a job with an employer. This would ensure that young people's preference for EFG or master apprenticeship would not be influenced by their financial circumstances.

Although there are many differences, a fundametal simlarity exists between EFG and master-apprenticeship. At the end of the basis-year the EFG-trainee must, like the young person seeking a master apprenticeship, find a training post and obtain a contract by himself, and if he does not succeed, he receives no trade training. The 'basic-year' of EFG alone does not provide recognized certification of vocational qualifications.

There has never been any question, either, of automatic award of an on-the-job training post to anyone who has taken an EFG basis-year training course. But whereas previously it had not been 'visibly apparent' or provable by statistics how many young persons had sought an apprentice post in vain, nor how many employers had offered training posts in vain, with the EFG-system the problems became apparent - and they have gradually been better recorded and statistically elucidated, as well.

The fundamental nature of the basic management mechanism applicable to both the apprenticeship system and EFG - whereby the young person must by himself find an employer who will enter into a contract of apprenticeship or a contract for an on-the-job training post - changed with the radical change in the general economic trend from 1974 onwards. The planned pace of development of EFG could not be maintained.

The employers in many trades were not very enthusiastic about taking on EFG-trainees, because they were in the firm for a much shorter time than the master's apprentice, and it was debatable whether the 1-year basis training-course had increased job skills in this particular trade to the extent that it could compensate for just under 1 year's shorter time with the firm, out of a broadly uniform total training-time of 3 -4 years. At the same time, a number of trades had also started to update and revise the schooling within the apprenticeship system, so that the master's apprentice received all-round introdutionary technical schooling early in the process. Lastly, a number of employers were averse to the EFG-basis-year's instruction in general subjects, which was regarded as the reason why EFG-trainees were too trade union-orientated, too political, 'knowing their rights, but not their duties', etc.

For these reasons, many masters took on young persons as apprentices under the 1956-law, making it more difficult for youngsters with EFG-basis-training to obtain a 2-part on-job training contract. This has presumably had repercussions on the intake to EFG-basis training in general. Under the effect of the recession, in particular, young persons (and their parents) have probably tended to prefer a master's apprentice training post in which it was certain that the training could be completed. It is also possible, of course, that some of the youngsters have preferred apprenticeship because - unlike EFG-basis-training

- in it they could do practical work from the start and were less interested in general subjects, which could be felt to be a continuation of primary and lower secondary school.

Whatever the situation may be, EFG and master apprenticeship had become two competing training courses - and a controversial issue among the general public interested in training policy.

In 1976 the wages paid on the EFG-basis-year were stopped. No distinction was made between master apprentice- and EFG-contracts in the grants for wages made to employers who wished to establish additional on-job training-posts adopted in 1977 as part of the plans for employment. The school fees which masters had to pay for their apprentices' schooling were abandoned completely in 1975.

These measures - which cannot be said to encourage a trend towards changing over to EFG - were sponsored by a parliamentary majority who favoured apprenticeship to master craftsmen, and were against the 'modernization' and 'schooling' tendencies, which this majority considered as the EFG-systems doubtful effects.

2.13. The 1977 EFG-law - rejection of the social partners' recommendation

Nevertheless, agreement was reached between the main organizations, the Confederation of Danish Trade Unions (LO) and the Danish Employers' Association (DA), on a plan for a complete change-over to EFG, in conjunction with the amendment of the experimental law to a definitive EFG-law in 1977. For master apprenticeship, this meant primarily the starting of trade training within a broad, general vocational area and a considerable proportion of general subjects in the basis-training. The re-introduction of wages in the basis-year was not included in the LO/DA-compromise, and it has been the price which the LO has had to pay in order to get the DA to accept EFG despite widespread opposition among DA-members. Equally important for achieving agreement, however, was a common interest in halting 'system competition' between two quite similar training systems, involving much unnecessary expenditure on vocational schools and burdening of the management system.

This compromise was rejected by the parliamentary majority.

The consequence was that 'master apprenticeship' under the 1956-law and EFG-training were not combined in a unified system, but that 'master apprenticeship'-training continued unchanged, in parallel with EFG-training, the experimental-status of which, originating in the 1972-law, was changed to permanent status under the law of 1977. The The Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and the Employers' Association (DA) had thus tried in vain to avoid this bisection of apprentice training courses [8], by formulating the joint compromise proposal.

'Trade self-management' thus has distinct limitations in relation to the Government.

However, this is not inconsistent with the fact that in Denmark we have so far had vocational training systems

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[8] Here, as in section 3 and also in what follows, the plural form 'apprentice training systems' (lærlingeuddannelserne) is used as a blanket term covering 'master apprenticeship training' (mesterlæren), apprentice training under the 1956-law and EFG-training under the 1977-law, both of which are of the same nature as alternance training (sandwich course)-systems, with employment of the young persons under contract in a firm constituting the training-relationship. The term 'apprentice training systems' (lærlingeuddannelserne) is therefore used to distinguish from 'technician'- (tekniker-) and 'qualifying examination-training systems' (eksamensuddannelser), as one different main category of youth vocational training, and from the theoretical or academic upper secondary school-courses (the gymnasium/Lycée) as a third main category of youth training.

decisively regulated and characterized by trade self-management, which took shape first in the 1937-Law concerning apprentices, and then more definitively around 1960.

3. Description of the systems

3.1. Apprentice training courses

3.1.1. Regulation of the market for apprentice and on-the-job training posts - a key function for 'trade self-management'

The principle of alternance training (sandwich courses) has the full support of both social partners in Denmark. The in-firm training sector is regarded as an important, central part of trade training.

The wide support given to the alternance training-principle is due to the tradition that has evolved since the 1937-law, for the regulation of in-firm training through trade committees with equal representation of the two sides of industry.

This regulation includes as well the quantity as the quality of the various apprentice training courses.

If there were only very few regulations on in-firm training, and if they were laid down without paticipation by the trade unions - in either formulation, administration or monitoring, then many training posts within a trade would, of course, be offered, ranging in quality from good training to use purely for auxiliary tasks.

If, correspondingly, there were an enormous number of apprenticed trades and if new subject areas/specialisms could be established very easily, then the supply of training posts could become large also, because this would enable firms with very specialized production, too, to have participation in their ordinary work processes recognized as training in an apprenticed trade.

The outcome of this kind of weak or defective regulation of apprentice training courses could thus be a large supply of youths who had completed their apprenticeship (i.e. quantitatively), but of extremely doubtful quality in their skilled qualifications. Their mobility and usability - both within their own narrower training sector and outside it, being wider in the trade or industry - would be doubtful. Such developments have been averted by the trade committees with equal representation.

Protection of the quality of the training and of the trained person's qualifications was historically the starting-point for the work of the 'trade committees'; but this regulation also has its other side in that, if the scope of the trade is made quite comprehensive in the training regulations and if precise prescriptions are made for training, this may result in the firms finding it too expensive or simply impossible to comply with the training regulations. Such provisions regarding training as the trade committees may have laid down on the basis of practical and technical considerations can thus result in falling numbers of training posts.

For the trade committees, it must therefore be a question of achieving a compromise in a dilemma between quantity and quality in apprentice training within the trade.

The trade union movement has been able to find an ally here within the group of employers who have been interested primarily in the results of the apprentice training systems - namely in being able to use the trained labour in their work-force. The problem has been to maintain the volume and quality of training among that group of employers whose interests lie primarily in the actual apprentice training-process - namely those who can use apprentices in their production and train them at the same time. These employers thus function as 'suppliers' of skilled labour, whereas the former group appear as 'customers'. A customer/supplier-situation of this kind exists in some places in the relationship between large and small firms in a trade or industry, and in other places with the whole trade or industry as 'supplier' to other trades or industries.

But if the trade training-requirements for 'suppliers' are made more stringent, or if they go in only one direction which does not match the supplier-firms' own operation, then the 'deliveries' will be restricted - hence the description as a dilemma between quality and quantity.

3.1.2. Politico-organizational changes in the market mechanisms for apprentice and on-job training posts

The trade committees found a way to handle these problems, by bringing in the Government as a third party. *By transferring the changed or increased qualification requirements to the vocational schools* to deal with, it was possible to increase the qualification requirements for training, without risk of reducing the number of training posts by making the requirements more stringent only for firms.

The social partners have tried also in other ways jointly to socialize trade training with finance from public funds. The full costs of vocational school courses have thus been borne from public funds since 1975, with abolition of partial payment by master craftsmen for their apprentices' education.

Apart from the problem of reconciling training with day-to-day work, the direct expenses for apprentices are an important factor for the supply of training posts. Apprentices' wages are relatively high in Denmark; but they vary to some extent as between trades and according to the apprentice's age and training stage. For the DA (Employers Association)-sector, in the 3rd quarter of 1986 they averaged *32.17 kr an hour*, whereas for young workers under 18 years of age they were otherwise about

36-40 kr an hour. For adult unskilled workers, average wages for women were 63.88 kr an hour and 71.83 kr for men. The average hourly wage for skilled workers was 82.97 kr an hour.

Apprentice wages are thus equivalent to:
- approx. 90% of young workers' wages
- approx. 50% of unskilled workers' wages
- approx. 40% of skilled workers' wages.

Since 1977, the function of the Employers' Trainee Reimbursement Scheme (Arbejdsgivernes Elevrefusion, AER) has been to spread the costs of wages paid to apprentices. An amount in 'ore' is levied from all private employers per hour of hourly-paid work and the resultant fund is used to reimburse employers whose apprentices are attending school, for most of their expenditure on wages during this period.

In the period 1978-81 a general grant of 16 000 kr, financed out of taxation, was made for the establishment of extraordinary apprentice and on-the-job training posts. In 1982 this sum was increased to 30 000 kr for training courses of more than 1 years' duration.

In a way similar to that when the labour-market training courses changed over, on the introduction of the Labour-market Training Fund (AUD) in 1983, from ordinary tax-financing to payment by the social partners of portions of the wages into a fund, the present non-socialist 4-party government introduced financing of the grants for extraordinary apprentice and on-job training posts through AER-contributions, taking effect as from 1 July 1984 for new traineeships.

Whereas the contribution to cover refund of wages paid for school attendance was 0.24 kr per hour of work, with AER-financing of the grants to support the supply of training places the contribution was 0.29 kr.

Whereas the proportion of on-job training financed with grants in the first few years of the scheme - 1978-80 - was between 18 and 26%, for 1985 it had reached 72%, and this percentage is considered to be still too low, because all grant-financed on-job training actually takes place, whereas the estimated total number includes trainee contracts which are not begun, or are soon terminated. Thus, in the mid-'80s, more than 95% of all apprentice and on-job training contracts reportedly received grants. (cf. Annex I, Tables 3 and 4).

The transfer of financing to AER may therefore certainly be regarded also as preparation for the scaling-down or abolition of the grant-scheme. It was considered doubtful whether the scheme did in fact create additional apprentice and on-job training posts - the only certain fact is that Denmark has thus had a general fund which transfers funds from non-training firms to training firms.

Without a shot being fired, so to speak, with effect from 1 January 1986 the grant was reduced from 30 000 to 15 000 kr, and during 1987 the payment of grants for newly-established apprentice and on-job training contracts will be discontinued.

However, different assessments of the importance of the grant-scheme to the bigger firms, the Government and firms of the nature of craft workshops, respectively. can be illustrated with the following quotations from 'Teknisk Skole' 1987, pp.48-49:

> ### Satisfied with the discontinuance of trainee grants
>
> "The Danish Employers' Association more than welcomes the expiration soon of the grant-scheme for apprentice and on-job training posts. This will save trade and industry more than 700m kr annually, because the firms have had to finance the grant-scheme themselves during the last couple of years, with the money quite simply passing from employer to employer through the Government." This is what Deputy Director Erik Tøttrup, of the Danish Employers' Association tells 'Børsen', adding that the firms do not want unfair charges of this kind.
>
> Education Minister Bertel Haarder, too, is looking forward to the abolition of the scheme. "A 'monument

> of infamy' should be erected to these grants, because the 44 000 new apprentice and on-job training posts in 1986 show that there was no need at all for the scheme," says Bertel Haaarder.
>
> The Director of the Craft Industry Council (Håndværksrådet), Laue Traberg Smidt, states in a commentary that, for the sake of historical record, it must be emphasized that the grant-scheme has been vital in the last few years for continued intake into the trade training courses. From the mid-'70s and onwards over the next 10 years, those firms that traditionally performed the trade training-functions were in a very serious situation. "It was essential that firms should be given an incentive to overcome their well-founded anxiety about entering into 4-year training contracts. The Craft Industry Council has not the slightest doubt that the scheme has been necessary for establishing a very large proportion of the apprentice and on-job training posts taken in recent years. This being so, we also have the scheme to thank for our not having to contend today with bottleneck-problems much bigger than they actually are," says Laue Traberg Smidt.'

This development has not produced any sharp comment from trade union quarters - where, of course, it will be insisted that there is still a problem with apprentice and on-job training posts, but where it will also certainly be thought that the redistribution of funds is a necessary 'instrument', which must, however, be supplemented by others. [1]

Such supplementary instruments were under consideration around 1980-81, when - despite a rise in the number of training posts - youth employment and the queue of applicants for apprentice and on-job training posts rose very sharply at the same time.

During this period the labour-market organizations were engaged in large-scale information campaigns, aimed at convincing employers that it would be beneficial - for both themselves, the firms and the community - if they established more training posts. At the same time, attention was drawn to the possibility of government grants for trainee's wages. The DA's campaign among its members was conducted by the local associations in co-operation with the local public authorities for the labour market, namely the employment service ('Arbejdsformidlingen', AF) and the labour market-tribunals ('Arbejdsmarkedsnævnene, AMN), borough councils and county councils and the vocational schools.

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[1] A special case here is the bricklaying trade, which had both special funding schemes and a special collective form of on-job training, 'Elevbyg'. It is discussed in more detail in sub-section 4.6.

Nevertheless, it seemed that the limit had very nearly been reached to the basic management of youth vocational training capacity through the market mechanism for training posts. Youth unemployment was so high and the queue of young applicants for apprentice and on-job training posts was so long that the Social Democratic government considered suspension of the management system for the market supply of training posts. The public sector itself, the Government, and county and borough councils -, which had been among the great 'sinners' by being 'customers' while providing only a little training themselves - were required to establish a number of apprentice and on-job training posts, equivalent to 9% of the total number of employees.

Regarding the private labour market, the following is stated in an agreement entered into on 30 April 1981 between the main labour market-organizations (DA and LO) and the Government:

> "On the basis of discussions between the Government and the social partners, guiding rules are being drawn up jointly on training capacity for individual firms or industries. One of the more important aims is to try to induce the bigger firms to establish more training posts. The employers' organizations will work to ensure that these rules are observed by their member-firms."

Although guiding rules are mentioned, and although the employers' organizations neither have nor wish to have powers to enforce rules for the acceptance of apprentices by firms, an agreement of this kind does express normative pressure. The indication is that if the expectations are not fulfilled, a form of intervention on the part of the Government must be anticipated.

As a result of the joint campaigns (cf. above), among other things, the number of apprentice and on-job training places rose higher than ever before, and in consequence of this the question of guiding rules was virtually abandoned with the Law concerning increased supply of apprentice and on-job training places in 1982. Shortly afterwards, the queue for training posts peaked in 1983 and since then it has decreased. Nevertheless, the queue still consists of about 7 000 young persons, or close to 10% of a youth cohort. (1983: 84600 - 17-year old).

There is no prospect at present of this resulting in an attempt to introduce new regulatory mechanisms.

The situation in Denmark thus continues to be that the trend of the market for apprentice and on-job training posts - capacity in the in-firm training sector - is the key factors for determining the size of the two competing youth vocational training systems in the form of alternance training, namely 'master apprenticeship' under the 1956-Law concerning apprentices and EFG-Part 2-training under the 1977-law. An attempt has been made to influence this capacity through the redistribution of finance between training-firms and non-training-firms (AER, grant-schemes) and through the increased role of the vocational schools in trade-specific qualification.

3.1.3. Planning capacity in apprentice training courses

When a contract for an apprentice or on-job training post is drawn up, these same two laws imply that the apprentice has a statutory claim to be admitted to classes at the vocational school. The numbers of students at the technical schools and business schools are thus determined also by the trend of the market for training-places. Planning at the Directorate for Vocational Training (Direktoratet for Erhvervsuddannelserne, DfE) must thus be adapted to this and must attempt to forecast it. The quality, scope and content of the instruction at the vocational schools are determined interactively between the trade committees and DfE, and government financing sitaution is also an important factor, of course, in this interaction, which will be discussed in more detail in sub-section 3.4.1.

Compared to this very specific planning task, it has been possible for the development of the EFG basis-year to take place rather more freely, on the basis of policy-considerations in the Ministry of Education and in the Directorate.

For craft and manufacturing trades, these considerations were directed for quite a long time towards determining the capacity of the various main areas of EFG basic (pre-vocational) training relative to the expected opportunity to obtain an on-job training contract and hence admission to Part 2-training - but it will also mean, of course, allowing the decisions of the market for training-places and those of trade self-management to prevail, only in an indirect way. Thus, in September 1979 3 673 - or about 75% - of those who had completed the EFG basis-year obtained an on-job training post. This figure must be compared with the 14 041 master apprenticeship-starters in craft and manufacturing trades.

At this time, therefore, EFG as the input to actual alternance training (sandwich courses) represented about one-quarter of the master apprenticeship-input, and up to this time it had also been possible - with change-over frequencies around 75-80% to Part 2 of EFG - to regard the growth in the intake to EFG basic training as EFG's growth relatively to the competing alternance-training system, the master-apprenticeship-system.

3.1.3.1. Craft and manufacturing industry

In general, the principle of alternance training holds a strong position within the sphere of craft and manufacturing industry; but there has been competition between systems within this area - both between the two 'pure' forms of alternance training, EFG-Part 2 and master apprenticeship, mutually on the one hand, and between these and so-called 'technical training courses' or basic courses leading to a qualifying examination, comparable with the French 'Lycée Technique',on the other.

As an extension to the EFG-basis-year of pre-vocational training, the so-called HTX has been established, which can be regarded as a parallel to HHX ('højere handelseksamen' - examination leading to a higher diploma in commerce) and will probably be developed into a technical vocational course within the upper secondary school system. It is true that the technical training courses include on-job training; but this does not involve any contractual obligation and is feebly regulated, and the on-job training can be described almost as an accumulation of vocational experience forming part of an otherwise school-organized education. It means also, however, that development of the technical training courses is far more manageable for planners and policy-makers. From representing about 15-20% of the number of apprentices in the 1970's, the technical 'qualifying examination-courses' have increased to about 25-30% in the '80s, and further development is planned for them.

However, both on the basis of the special nature of the basic technical examination courses and on the basis of their moderate growth hitherto, these can hardly be said to constitute a threat to the dominance of the alternance training-principle so far, within craft and manufacturing industry. On the other hand, they do seem to attract those interested in further training. Of those who completed a basic examination course in 1982-83, 22% or 3 400 started more advanced technical educations, compared with only 3-4% from the EFG- and apprentice-category, or a total of fewer than 900 young persons with skill training (embracing the whole range, not only craft and manufacturing industry).

On the other hand, the growth in the intake to the EFG basis-year can no longer be considered to be synonymous with progress for alternance training. Whereas the intake to basic training almost trebled in craft and manufacturing trades from 1979 to 1984 - from 6 504 to 16 897 - the change-over to EFG-Part 2 only rather more than doubled, so that the transfer frequency fell from about 75% [2] to about 45-50%. [3]

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[2] Cf. calculation by Sektorradet for de fortsatte skoleuddannelser (1980) p.16

[3] Cf. summaries in Annex I, tables 1 and 2, to this study.

These figures apply to the young persons who are finishing their basic training. In addition, students drop out during the year, including those transferring to other courses - to master apprenticeship, in some cases. The distribution of the approx. 50% who did basic training, but have not started Part 2-training, has been debated. A special run [4] for those who completed the EFG basis-year 1984 yielded the following results:

To From	EFG-part 2	Master appr. ship	Basic exam. course	Not stated
EFG basic education within:				
Iron & steel + metal-working	47.6%	16.8%	6.3%	29.3%
Building & construction	42.9%	21.5%	6.7%	28.9%

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[4] A special combination of computerregistrated student-data, collected at 'Danmarks Statistik', and, in this case, sponsored by LO's 'Fagligt nyhedsbrev (Trade Unions Newsletter) quoted here from DTL-Nyt, Oct.1986.

For the approx. 20% who begin a master apprenticeship, it may be said that the basis-year really represents extension of the apprenticeship by one year - which caused a very big debate on 'misuse of the system'; but this should also include the unknown number of drop-outs in the course of a basis-year, if the opportunity for a master apprenticeship contract should appear.

Changing-over to the school dominated vocational examination courses is relativelyinsignificant in these areas.

The 'Not stated'-category covers young persons who join the queue for on-job training posts, and also youths who are not otherwise entered in the Danish Bureau of Statistics' individual register of training-applicants - those actually working and also unemployed youths, including those who, having completed the basis-year, begin a semi-skilled worker-training course. Just under 6 000 of those who participated in a semi-skilled worker course in 1985 had completed the EFG-basis-year.

On the basis of these figures it may be concluded that EFG-basic training since 1980 in the sphere of craft and manufacturing industry has changed its societal function:

> From being a first part closely linked to a second part in an EFG-version of apprentice training to meriting description as, instead, a pre-vocational basis-year in school-form.

Planning of the EFG-basic training courses has since 1980 equally been part of the programme for combatting youth unemployment, and the emphasis has been placed - in rather varying degrees within the main vocational sectors [5] - upon establishing unrestricted admission for all young applicants.

3.1.3.2. Commerce and clerical sector

For the commerce and office clerical sector (HK), development of the EFG-basis-year has never been closely tied to EFG-Part 2-capacity. As can be seen from Table 3.1, since as early as the mid-'70s only just under one-half of of the young persons who had completed EFG-basic training began a Part 2-course in the following year.

Table 3.1
Intake to youth training courses in the Commerce and Clerical-sector

	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
EFG-basis	2072	21792	22068	22569	22785	21595
Apprentices	5538	2858	2220	2412	2559	2112
EFG-Part 2	800	9223	10584	10955	10901	13027
Higher Commerce(HHX)	1932	5942	7648	8800	8669	8836

Source: See annexed tables 1 and 2.

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[5] Cf. summary of EFG-main vocational sectors in Annex II, Fig.9.

On the other hand, an increasing number began a higher commerce diploma-examination course (HHX), completion of which can confer admission to an EFG-Part 2-course and to further training courses, but which in itself also confers a vocational qualification.

Within the Commerce and Clerical-sector (HK-sector), it is hardly appropriate to speak about competition between the EFG-system and master apprenticeship. When the commercial clerical examination was wound up in 1977 in favour of EFG basic training, the EFG-Part 2-contract was the one preferred within the sector, whereas the apprenticeship was abolished in a number of trades and kept in the remainder, with an intake of approx. 2 500- 3 000 young persons, compared with a growth in EFG from approx. 9 000 to approx. 13 000 between 1980 and 1985.

However, it would be a misunderstanding to compare the intake to EFG-Part 2 with the strong growth in the intake to HHX and to regard this as competition between alternance training (EFG), on the one hand, and purely school-based vocational education, the higher commercial school ('handelsgymnasiet'), on the other. It is far more a matter of a single, integrated, but highly selective system.[6]

More and more EFG-Part 2-contracts are thus being entered into by youths who have passed HHX. For the more attractive apprenticed trades, HHX is almost a necessary condition for admission, whereas an EFG-basis-year suffices only for less attractive trades. HHX can thus in some cases be regarded as a part of alternance training in which it is a question only of a great amount of prior training at a vocational school.

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[6] Cf. on this John Houman Sorensen (1986).

In other cases, HHX confers direct entry into jobs, or is used as admittance examination to higher education.

In general, in the Commerce and Clerical-sector extremely few trainees otherwise have more than 8 weeks' school attendance during the 2 years, on average, of EFG-Part 2-training. The bulk of the academic training thus precedes entry into a contract. Instead of alternance training, one can therefore speak about 'traditional' apprentice training (namely with in-firm training as the dominating element), but with steadily increasing prior requirements - differentiated by trades - for entry into apprenticeship.

It has therefore been possible to develop the school-part preceding the actual change-over to 'apprentice training', EFG-basic training and HHX, in step with the trend of training policy towards the young persons' own wishes regarding training, unrestricted by opportunities for on-job training posts.

From the same source as note 4, the change-over from HK-EFG-basic training in 1984 to EFG-Part 2 was 43.3%, to master apprenticeship 2.4% and to basic qualifying examination-courses (HHX and EDP-assistant) 29.1%. The change-over to master apprenticeship is thus a slight problem; but the 'Not stated'-category here is 25.2%.

Since 'competition' with master apprenticeship is so insignificant in the HK-sector, one is struck by the fact that the shortage of on-job posts relative to young persons' demand for them is the problem, and also one of the factors behind the strong growth of HHX. Politically, the 'requirement' of HHX or the upper secondary school leaving-examination (studentereksamen og HF) for obtaining an apprenticeship has been opposed; 'duplicated training' with HHX in order to obtain an EFG-Part 2 is offically declared undesirable - also for reasons of public finance. But it has not been possible to alter the trend. The requirements for obtaining an apprentice or on-job training post - and hence actual vocational training - are determined by market forces.

3.1.4. Overall youth education capacity

With the EFG-system it has been possible to aim at unrestricted admission to the purely school-based part, the basic education. This tendency has become generally established since 1980 and must be regarded as part of the policy to combat youth unemployment.

This has not solved the 'residual group-problem', however. The proportion of young persons in the 16-20 years-of-age group who do not receive a training qualifying for studies or conferring a recognized vocational qualification is still more than 30%.

The size of the 'residual group' is a matter of dispute connected with differences in survey methods. It would obviously be unfair to make a survey comparing the intake to upper secondary school, master apprenticeship, basic qualifying examination-courses and EFG-Part 1 with the size of the whole youth-year - as illustrated in Annex I, table 5.1. It would be rather better to have a count in which the intake to EFG-Part 2 replaced the figure for the intake to EFG-basic training, as given here in table 3.2 in order to illustrate the admission-capacity of the system.

Table 3.2
Intake to youth training courses I.

1984-intake to:	
Upper secondary school, HF, etc.	28 700
Qualifying examination-courses at business schools and technical schools	14 900
Apprentice training courses	14 200
EFG-Part 2-courses	20 700
Total	78 500

1984 youth-cohort = approx. 87 400 17-year-olds

However, the importance of the drop-out percentage (of the order of about 20% in most youth training courses), of change-over in training which is also recorded as intake, and of 'duplicated training' (young persons taking more than one course in the secondary stage) still does not appear here. When these factors are included, we obtain residual group-sizes of the order of minimum 30% of the youth-year/youth-cohort.

The actual 'queue' of those seeking apprentice or on-job training posts (cf. Annex I, tables 3 and 4) has been shrinking in the last couple of years; but at the end of January 1987 it consisted of 4 385 who had completed EFG-basic education and 3 289 seeking apprenticeship, i.e. a total of 7 674 seeking apprentice- or on-job posts. Thus, in addition to these actively seeking training posts there are about 15 000 young persons who are not seeking vocational training conferring a recognized qualification, when account is taken of a total 'residual group' of approx. 30%, or approx. 25 000 young persons in all. [7]

However, the structural nature of these problems stands out when the trend of the Danish youth training system over a 10-year period is taken into consideration. The intake to the main types of youth training is given in the table below as percentages of the corresponding year of 17-year-olds - which, as already mentioned, gives rise to methodological problems, but can indicate an order of magnitude.

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[7] Cf. Annex I, table 5.2, in which A. Mathiesen, working with the latest available figures, finds that the residual group - defined as those who do not complete training conferring a vocational qualification - amounted to 36% in 1984.

Table 3.3

Admission to	1975	1984
Upper secondary school ('Gymnasium + HF')	31%	33%
'School-based vocational training courses' (Basic qualifying examination-courses at HS and TS)	6-7%	17%
Alternance training courses (sandwich courses) (EFG-Part 2 + apprentices)	23%	40%

Source: Annex I, table 2, with remarks on method.

Thus, compared with 1975, growth for the upper secondary school has become sluggish, whereas the vocationally-orientated youth training courses have had substantial progress, which undoubtedly can be attributed largely to the policy implemented with the development of the EFG-basic training courses. The strongest growth is in the 'school-dominated' forms - with HHX as the weightiest factor - which in absolute figures trebled within the period, whereas actual alternance training courses in absolute figures doubled within the period.

3.2. Labour market training (AMU-)courses

3.2.1. Main types of AMU-courses

As mentioned in section 2, the 1960 Law concerning semi-skilled worker training courses - which was aimed at the unskilled - was quickly followed by corresponding labour market courses for the categories of skilled workers, through the setting-up, by official circular, of 'Continued training for skilled workers' ('Efteruddannelsen for Faglærte') in 1965, and by a special scheme for measures of re-training, etc.

The labour market training courses are in principle open to all members of the labour force - both employed and unemployed - who have or are seeking work in a trade or industry, and who satisfy admission requirements of prior education and training, courses or skills acquired through work experience. Semi-skilled worker-training includes general courses for 'beginners' in each trade or industry, on completion of which they have admission to one or more series of further modules which confer qualification for more specialized and advanced job functions within the trade or industry.

The starting-level in continued training for skilled workers is a skill training within the trade, or qualifications which correspond to this, acquired in some other way. This means in practice that re-training is possible also from one special field within a main vocational area, to another special field. However, the main aim is in principle to update a skill training to the current standard, and further training of skilled workers to include new or specialized job functions. The latter are still in many instances not being adopted as new elements in basic training (apprentice training courses), until after they have been 'covered with training' by the continued training-system. Thus the 'inventions' are made within the adult vocational training, and changes in youth vocational training come later.

These two main programmes within the labour market training-system (AMU-system) are both directed towards conferring job skills which can be applied directly, and their completion is documented by means of certificates which confer a vocational qualification.

A third programme-category which appeared in 1971, but did not become important until the latter half of the 1970's, is aimed - not like the first two, at conferring a vocational qualification, but at being introductory to a vocation and is aimed at young persons (EIFU) and the chronically unemployed, women, immigrants, etc. (EIFL and LAMU). The programmes prepare for a vocation and are often made up of elements from basic courses in a multitude of trades and industries, etc., but thus do not confer any vocational qualification. About 11 200 young persons took part in EIFU-courses in 1984, 75% of them under 20 years-of-age.

With the new labour market training-(AMU-) law of 6 June 1985, a fourth programme-category finally appeared which embraces certain categories of technicians and foremen or supervisors. With the addition of it, the vocationally-qualifying continued training of the AMU-system covers all categories of workers employed in the private sector and in those parts of the public sector whose job functions are identical with the corresponding ones in the private sector, and which do not have higher education (i.e. with student examination as admittance-condition) - namely, unskilled workers, skilled workers, technicians and lower-ranking office staff. It is as yet difficult to assess how important this latest additional category will become. Another innovation in the new AMU-law is the possibility of setting up 'firm-adapted' (virksomhedstilpassede, VTP) courses, with reduced government grant-aid. The purpose of this scheme is: "...to enable individual firms to carry out courses of training which are adapted to meet the special training-requirements of the individual firms". The AMU-system has been growing rapidly throughout its existence; but with sluggishness regarding grants in the last few years.

Semi-skilled worker-training is numerically the most comprehensive labour market training. From 1974/75 it grew from having 41 000 course-beginners to 92 086 in 1985, equivalent to a growth of 58 300 individuals (The number of persons is always smaller than the number of courses, because some persons participate in more than one modular course during a year). The potential target group could be illustrated with the number of employed unskilled workers, which according to RAS (register-based manpower statistics) was about 571 400 in 1984, supplemented by a cautious estimate of the number of relevant unemployed unskilled workers - namely by adding only unemployed members of SID's A-fund,(i.e. an unemployment insurance fund, closely integrated with the trade unions) (59 704) and those in KAD's A-fund (20 535), according to which the target group should number about 651 600.

Measured in the number of persons, 8.6% of the target group should thus have gained admission to semi-skilled worker courses in 1984 and, measured in the number of course-beginners, 13.9%. However, only 60% of the course participants were unskilled. About 28% were skilled, and of these, 20% were skilled in a quite different trade or industry. 10%, or about 6 000 persons, had completed an EFG-basis-year as the highest level of completed prior training.

Continued training of skilled workers is hardly on the same scale numerically; but it has grown strongly in recent years, from 17 000 course participants in 1974/75 to about 62 500 in 1985.

The total number of persons was 33 260 in 1984; but 10 451 of these were Commerce and Clerical (HK), which only appears under Continued Training, and is otherwise a special problem - which will not be examined further in this analysis. Thus, in relation to the target group-study similar to the one under semi-skilled worker training, a total of 22 809 persons are included in 1984. According to RAS, the number for employed persons in 1984 is 299 879 skilled workers, to which is added the number of unemployed from the following A-funds: Metal-workers, Painters, Bricklayers, Carpenters/joiners, Plumbers and Electricians. A minimum-estimate should accordingly give a target group of about 324 000 persons, and about 6.9% of the persons should have gained admission to continued training in 1984 (as against 8.6% on semi-skilled worker-courses). The proportion of unskilled workers who take part in the courses is about 10%.

3.2.2. The labour market policy-aim behind the courses

The courses are thus labour market-courses, with the fundamental aim of being available to every member of the labour force. This is regarded as a good quality of the Danish system, compared with systems in which vocational continued training is conducted primarily by firms, or is reserved for the employed.

It will be added here - and discussed in more detail in section 6 - that the courses are officially approved and that course certificates are issued, which are marketable and approved by the social partners, so that the vocational qualification enjoys nation-wide recognition.

This serves a dual purpose, in that, with AMU's designing of the courses to meet present-day needs on the labour market - as guaranteed by the equal-representation committees of labour market-representatives - the employers can find workers with the relevant qualifications and the workers can find a job, or change jobs, by taking a course.

Compared with a firm-based system, the most important differences are:

a) that employers can find labour with the right qualifications, or ensure that some workers are trained (where applicable, through activity in relations with the employers' association and the trade union) via the public AMU-system. With the firm-based system (regardless of whether any public grants existed), this would result in the employer having to arrange or purchase a course himself.

b) that hourly-paid workers in employment can acquire qualifications which can improve their position within the employing firm, but such that the qualification acquired is also marketable elsewhere, or else they can participate in courses which will enable them to change jobs within the trade or industry, or to a related trade or industry, or find a new job within an entirely different field.

And for those who are unemployed, the open system is a necessary condition for maintaining and renewing qualifications which increase the chances of getting back into employment.

Here, a firm-based system would be inaccessible for the unemployed, and for the employed it would involve risk of qualifications being too firm-specific and not usable for finding jobs in other trades or industries, and not being documentable by means of recognized course certificates.

Points a) and b) together constitute the formula which, gives trade union and employers' organizations common interests. It can be called promoting mobility - or keeping segmented labour market-sectors functioning.

Within the scope of the dual purpose, the emphasis can be laid in different places, however.

If there is a scarcity of funds relative to employees' demand for courses, and if funds are used on a course content which is closely tailored to needs which are notified by the firms for their employees, then it will be reasonable to describe the AMU-policy as firm policy- or industrial policy-based.

If the funds were so abundant that there was virtually no queue for admission to an AMU-course, and if the course-content were largely designed to provide qualifications for trades in which growth of employment is expected - also in terms of a longer time-scope than seen by short-term employment forecasts - then it would be reasonable to describe AMU-policy as directed towards employment policy or as a policy to combat unemployment.

Between these two poles of labour market policy-weighting, AMU-policy might well be described as market-orientated - by virtue of the fact that it has the quality of promoting mobility and preventing bottlenecks on the labour market, in contrast with a firm-based continuing training system.

During the long time since the passing of the Law concerning semi-skilled workers in 1960, a compromise has been worked out in Denmark for the priorities between the target groups for AMU-courses. It has been agreed that, for admission to AMU-courses, employed workers and applicants notified by the firm should have first priority, applicants who have been promised work after completing an AMU-course, second priority, and job seeker/unemployed workers generally, third priority. The funding has enabled 'third-priority applicants' to account for about one-half of all course participants over long periods.

The mobility-promoting function is being well managed by the Danish AMU-system, and there is little opposition to this. Although it cannot be attributed to the AMU-system alone, a noteworthy fact - considered in relation to the total labour force of approx. 2 300 000 - is that about 500 000 job-changes take place annually.

Thus, agreement has for a long time existed regarding a labour market-orientated policy and the fundamental desirability of unrestricted admission to courses.

However, under the influence of relatively tighter financing for the AMU-system, there are indications of a breakdown regarding this compromise between employer- and trade union-interests.

The Government's AMU-policy is thus considered by the trade union movement to be to turn development towards a basis of firm-policy or industrial policy orientation - and this reaction from the trade union movement to the Government's policy also means that there will be discussions with the employers' side concerning the main line of AMU-policy within 'the dual purpose'.

This question will be discussed again, in section 6, on current development tendencies, and also in section 4, in which the varied nature of the AMU-system's function within various industries and labour market-sectors will be illustrated.

3.2.3. Basic vocational training courses within labour market training?

However, one aspect of the varied nature of the AMU-system's functions will be discussed here, because it belongs under the presentation of youth vocational training in Denmark and of the fundamental features and problems of labour market training.

This aspect is that the AMU-system embraces a number of courses of relatively long duration within some of the industries, including building and construction and the iron and steel, engineering and other metal-using industries.

It was courses of this nature which caused the unskilled workers' unions to believe that a requirement of social justice had been satisfied, when semi-skilled worker training was established. The unskilled workers now also had admission to basic vocational training (cf.sub-section 2.10, p.).

The chance of admission constituted social justice also because the training was (and still is) free of charge, and because pay while under training was not much below the normal level of wages for the course participants. The rules for the AMU-system as a whole - except for the EIFU-EIFL and LAMU-sphere - are also broadly similar today, with unemployed course participants receiving the normal daily benefit for unemployment, and employed course participants receiving a sum equal to their normal wages, but not more than 125% of the maximum daily benefit. However, the lower degree of cover by daily benefit relative to average wages has made it less possible for course-pay to provide something resembling compensation for loss of earnings for some of the employed workers.

3.3. The management system in youth vocational training and labour market training

3.3.1. Apprentice training

In section 2 a comprehensive description is given of the historical development of the system of management in apprentice training.

The 1937-law provided the basis for the trade committees with equal representation being empowered to recommend training rules and to approve firms for training apprentices.

The training rules were to be decided by the Apprentices Council ('Lærlingerådet'), which in this connection controlled the trade committees and trade joint committees (FU and FFU). However, the Apprentices Council, too, was composed with equal representation of the two sides of industry, and in parliamentary policy-quarters there was a deliberate intention that it should have independent powers and be protected against political influence from the Government.

The social partners were thus given an all-round mandate for deciding the content of the apprentice training courses.

The 1956-Law concerning apprentices resulted in school education also being actively incorporated in the FU-FFU's sphere of interest - but necessarily without the right of decision in this case. The Government held this right, as a financing and approving body regarding the justification of grants for education at Technical Schools and Commercial Schools.

The composition and structure of the trade committees with equal representation were not changed.

When the EFG-experiment-law was implemented in 1972, a special Experiment Council was set up for the EFG-system as a whole, and a number of Experiment Committees were formed for the different main vocational sectors, as they were gradually established in the EFG-form. Working in an interdisciplinary capacity was a committee which was to take charge of education in common subjects to be included in all EFG-basic training courses. Within these bodies, chairmen appointed by the Minister, representatives of school principals and teachers' organizations served together with the representatives of the social partners, who were also required to provide representatives from among their ranks for apprentices (side of the Confederation of Trade Unions, LO) and foremen and supervisors (side of the Employers' Association, DA), respectively.

Within this system also, however, the basic unit was still constituted by the trade committees and trade joint committees (FU and FFU), about 50 in number.

They were involved in formulating the structure and content of the basis-year in relation to the respective main vocational areas to which they could be referred. Regardless of whether or not the individual FU was represented on the Experimental Councils, the wishes of the FU's regarding the trade-content in the basic training were a very important factor in the formulation, since this had implications for the question as to whether trade training controlled by a Trade Committee could be incorporated as Part 2 EFG-training. The reason being that trade training, as such, it has to be provided with training rules for on-the-jobtraining, and that requires a favourable decision from the Trade Committee, under the Law concerning apprentices.

This in turn is bound up with the contractual obligation (cf. later in this section).

No major changes in this situation really took place in the definitive EFG-law of 1977.

The continued parallel existence of the 1956-Law concerning apprentices resulted in there being no change in the central position of the Trade Committees. They now became, also formally, the basic unit in relation to the advisory bodies on vocational training.

The eight vocational training committees (EUU) corresponding to the 8 EFG-basis-year main sectors did not get the status of controlling the FU/FFU's attached to them. EUU's were to have a co-ordinating function and be heard regarding proposals from FU's, as part of DfE's handling of cases. A total of about 56 trade committees exist today, a few of which have only training in the form of the master apprenticeship, while more exist only in the EFG-form, and most as both an EFG- and a master apprenticeship-version of trade training.

The vocational training committees were intended to have a co-ordinating and initiative-taking function with regard to new development and co-ordination of the courses within a main sector.

Although EUU's, too, are composed on an equal-representation-basis, their significance seems to be small compared with the interaction between FU/FFU's and the Directorate for Vocational Training (DfE).

These 8 vocational training committees in turn make recommendations to the Vocational Training Council ('Erhvervsuddannelsesrådet', EUR). This council acquired the status of top planning and advisory body and is also responsible for the third main category (with those of master apprenticeship and EFG-training as the first two) of equal-representation committees, namely the category concerning technician training courses. (cf. Annex III, organizational chart).

3.3.2. Technician training courses

About 16 committees - usually called 'training boards' (uddannelsesnævn) - exist for these courses, and, like EFG and master apprenticeship, they embrace courses which are directed towards both manufacturing industry, building and construction, service trades and commerce - also organized as alternance courses, but with greater emphasis upon the school aspect and with shorter on-job courses, less stereotyped in structure, and without central contractual obligation (cf. later in this study).The 'technician'-designation should, incidentally, indicate orientation towards planning-, work arrangement-, supervisory and similar staff-functions, rather than actual executive work.

Whereas, as already mentioned, technician training courses as a whole officially come under the Vocational Training Council, co-ordination in relation to the Vocational Training Committees and hence to apprenticeships and EFG-courses in corresponding areas is unclear in form, undergoing change and, in practice, weak.

3.3.3. Labour market courses (The 'AMU-system)

Whereas the first three categories of equal-representation committees deal with youth vocational training and are attached to the Ministry of Education, the two to mentioned last are attached to the Ministry of Labour. They are now - since the 1985-law - committees under a controlling labour market training-council (the AMU-Council).

3.3.3.1. Semi-skilled worker courses

Attached to the training committee for semi-skilled worker-courses, there are 23 branch (of trade or industry) committees. There is partial overlapping of the branches with the division into trade (joint) committees and vocational training committees in the apprentice- and EFG-system; but they are orientated primarily towards labour market sector-branches. However, there are also branch committees which offer courses on a number of labour market sectors where corresponding apprentice training courses do not exist. The semi-skilled worker training courses function in practice as both youth vocational training and adult vocational training; but the lower age-limit for admission is 18.

The organizations on the branch committees themselves defray the operating expenses for the secretariats; but the costs of administering, developing and carrying out semi-skilled worker-courses within the branch committee's area are met in full by the Directorate for Labour Market Training (the AMU-Directorate). Prior to 1983, the social partners paid 10% of the course expenses, and the course participant's local authority 5%, while the remaining 85% was allocated as a fixed sum through the Budget.

In 1983, the Labour Market Training Fund ('Arbejdsmarkedets Uddannelsesfond', AUD) was introduced, into which a fixed sum per hour of work was to be paid by all employees and employers. This sum - with annual adjustments - was fixed at a level equal to the total costs of the AMU-system. However, since the total costs of the AMU-system are determined politically in conjunction with the Budget debate, the structure of the AUD-fund does not signify any increase - nor a decrease, but a change of form, rather - in the great influence exerted by the social partners upon both the amount of the total AMU-costs and upon their apportionment between the different programmes. The labour market organizations' contribution to the direct costs of training was abolished; on the other hand, a new tax on earned income was really introduced.

In the allocation of funds as between the various AMU-programmes and, within the semi-skilled worker-system, between the different branch committees, there is not much sense, therefore, in using the special designation 'trade self-management' for the role of the labour market organizations. Whereas a special claim upon educational funds from the public purse exists, when contracts are entered into within the EFG- and apprentice-field, a more 'normal' relationship exists here between interested organizations and the Government. It is institutionalized in the AMU-Council and in the training committees. The influence exerted here depends upon whether politically valid arguments can be adduced for the usefulness of AMU-efforts within the particular branch-area concerned - specifically, in increased employment within export trades and industries, resulting from increased AMU-efforts.

However, the branch committees have a large measure of freedom - for both the distribution of course-types and geographically - in their allocation of funds within the branch committee's own area and funding limits. A dual system of reporting needs exists, namely from sub-groups within the branch organizations and also from the semi-skilled worker schools, which have evolved a system of co-operation with the local/regional business community and local labour market authorities. With the restrictions imposed by the given level of funding, it is thus possible within 'trade self-management' in the branch committees to influence the decision as to whether the aim will be one of industrial policy or of employment policy, when the AMU-policy-priorities are established.

The branch committee has also held a key position in the forming of approved AMU-modules - planned courses - on offer, which the branch committee can choose between when it sets its priorities. Both the revision of existing courses - which, according to the AMU-Directorate's own rules, must take place at least every 5 years - and the elaboration of completely new courses, fall within the branch committee's powers, which are exercised in collaboration with the AMU-Directorate's consultants or with special development grants to the branch committee.

One can thus speak about trade self-management also in relation to the content of the courses.

3.3.3.2. Continued training for skilled workers

The same applies, on the whole, to the last category of equal-representation management organs to be mentioned.

Attached to the committee for continued training of skilled workers are 11 continued training committees, the demarcation of which can be described primarily as something intermediate between the trade (joint) committees and the branch committees, but closer to the former. In addition to the 11 continued training committees, it must be mentioned that within 13 trades continued training is managed by the trade (joint) committees and that many of the labour market organizations' representatives on the trade joint committees (apprentice training, including EFG) also serve on the continued training committees. In two cases - the meat trade and horticulture - continued training is managed by the branch committee. There are thus 26 continued training committees in all. [8]

Broadly the same type of modification of trade self-management as in semi-skilled worker training can be associated primarily with the difficulties of having to act with reference to both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour.

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[8] In March 1987 a continued training committee for the finance sector was approved (cf. sub-section 4.7.), so that a total of 27 committees now exist.

Whereas the semi-skilled worker schools thus come under the AMU-system, continued training of skilled workers takes place mostly at Technical Schools and Commercial Schools under DfE. This gives rise to problems regarding procurement of equipment, etc., and setting up and administering courses is made difficult and is highly centralized. The continued training committees clearly wish to maintain the location of the courses, because it has a beneficial effect upon the basic training courses and on the staff at Technical Schools and Commercial Schools.

However, it must be concluded here again that the social partners play an important role in the formulation of the course contents and can influence the nature of AMU-policy by setting priorities in the composition of the type of courses offered, as well as by influencing the setting of funding priorities in the AMU-Council and on the training committees.

3.3.4. Comparison of the scope of 'trade self-management' in apprentice training courses and labour market courses

As pointed out above, the limits to trade self-management within the AMU-sphere are set by the conflict with the Government's AMU-policy-line and the Budget as a means of implementing it. The possibility of opposition to this depends upon the measure of agreement between the social partners and whether they can supplement recommendations in the AMU-advisory system with influencing the Minister through the public and through Parliament. The influence exerted by the social partners upon AMU-policy is in this sense a classical example of the labour market organizations' interrelationships with the machinery of government, designated as 'neo-corporatism' in political science. [9]

However, the social partners are traditionally deeply involved in the work of preparing legislation and policy-making in the AMU-sphere. Implementation and administration are managed almost independently by the social partners on the equal-representation committees, which are also very much involved in supervision and evaluation of the implementation of AMU-programmes.

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[9] For a summary of the fairly recent debate on corporatism, see Lehmbruch & Schmitter (1982).

These phases in the political process are also normally included in the analysis of corporatism, and they form the methodological basis of the German contribution to this series of CEDEFOP-studies, with Wolfgang Streeck and Joseph Hilbert (1987) as the main authors. They divide the process into:

1. formulation of rules
2. finance
3. implementation and administration and
4. inspection and supervision.

In the Danish AMU-system the social partners are deeply involved in all 4 phases in committees with equal representation of the two sides, so that it is reasonable to speak of extensive 'trade self-management'.

Regarding item 2, finance (and capacity), and item 1, rule-formulation, however, 'trade self-management' extends even more widely within apprentice training. It has a quite special status and tradition, of which the 1937-law and the 1956-law are expressions.

Two circumstances, which still apply and which also embrace EFG-Part 2-training, are fundamental to this special character.

1) When an apprentice has entered into an indentured training contract, or an EFG-student has entered into an on-job training contract after completing basic training, the person concerned has a statutory claim to

be admitted to Commercial School or Technical School for instruction in his trade.

The trade committees therefore do not need to argue to ensure sufficient capacity for their apprentice training. There can be no question of reducing the number of apprentices admitted to the school in order to ensure good quality. Any governmental plans for curtailment of economies can therefore be interpreted unequivocally as impairment of quality, providing a strong bargaining position for 'trade self-management' in relation to DfE - and for DfE in relation to the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, etc.

Within EFG-basic training, which falls outside the scope of contractual obligation, the situation is more normal. Restriction of admission, total or in the individual main areas, can be implemented and/or standard reductions can be made in order to ensure places for all applicants, depending upon Ministry of Education-policy.

2) The contractual obligation implies that the trade committees exert a quite special influence upon matters concerning content and structure in apprentice training courses. The contractual obligation in Art.1 of the Law concerning apprentices - which is interpreted similarly in Art.10 of the EFG-Law - is to the effect that persons under 18 years of age cannot be accepted for work in a firm in which work is done that is approved under

the law as a trade, or which belongs under a trade, without indentures being drawn up. There are possible exceptions to this; but they are not very important here.

The essential point here is the dual function of the contractual obligation. It can be considered from two aspects:

1) as a means of ensuring the training of the young persons within correlated training processes, with a view to a high professional standard;

2) as a regulator which prevents employers from using young persons for job functions which are regarded generally as part of trade-field.

The second point can be regarded as protection of trade union-interests - more narrowly defined as protection of adult skilled workers against competition on wages from unskilled young persons and, in the longer term, as protection against any splitting-up or parcelling-out of the trade into several job functions which can be performed after brief instruction or job training. It is therefore a question of protection of trade demarcations and of the trade itself, and here we must again refer to point 1, to the effect that conditions should be created for continued recruitment of broadly and highly qualified skilled labour to the trade.

It also serves the interests of employuers thereby. It ensures for them the existence of a workforce which in the individual enterprise can handle a wide segment of job functions and is flexible and able to join various labour organizations - and it ensures mobility within the trade or industry and the maintenance of an actual skilled labour-market sector.

The contractual obligation is therefore a key instrument for implementing the common interests of a trade committee.

It links a demarcation of specific job functions in trades and industries as belonging to a trade labour-market sector (in which a particular skilled union has a monopoly on making tariff agreements) and specific content-requirements, to the apprentice training which is intended to confer qualification for these particular job functions. The in-firm part of apprentice training courses (including EFG-Part 2) therefore has a key role in the linking of training, trade boundaries and agreements because of the contractual obligation.

With the very clear, marked reference to the particular trade market-sector for which a training course is to confer qualification, the trade committees are therefore very well supplied with information and assessments of needs when the content and structure of the school-part of apprentice training are to be arranged.

In relation to DfE, however, this also is only a bargaining position, of course - but a very strong one, since the trade committees might also be asked to tighten up the requirements for in-firm instruction instead of school education, of course.

With the establishment of new trade training courses, the situation of the trade committees also matches better the situation of the labour market training-area; there can be well-documented qualification-requirements, but dependence exists, upon DfE's assessment and possible wishes for combination with other lines of training to form a new structure, until the training course is established and new trade-territory has been won for the trade union in the trade committee. An example of this might be the establishment of computer engineer-training within the engineering and metal-working sector. The establishment depended upon DfE first wishing to secure co-ordination with other electro-technical training courses - and then upon DfE deciding to establish school capacity. Not until after training has started will the contracts taken be able to function as a position of strength in relation to DfE.

In addition, through the establishment of trade training under the Law concerning apprentices or the EFG-Law, definition of the corresponding job functions as a trade sector, covered by a contractual obligation, will be achieved. The strength of the system lies in the fact that the social partners have themselves appraised the need - quantitavely and qualitatively - for a new training system, thereby ensuring the usability and approval of the training on the labour market and the representatives of potentially employing firms are already well acquainted with the new training.

3.3.5. Management of vocational training courses and structure of the trade union movement

The vocational training system also serves, in this complicated way, to maintain trade boundaries within the Danish trade union movement, which is divided into skilled unions, unskilled unions and a few mixed unions of the industry-wide type.

It was mentioned earlier that, on the side of the trade union movement, representatives of the skilled unions predoiminate in the apprentice- and EFG-system and in continued training for skilled workers, whereas the unskilled workers' unions predominate in the system of semi-skilled workers and, lastly, employees' organizations in the training boards for the technicians.

Within the EFG-system, however, unskilled workers play a major role in the main sector of 'land transport', and the main sectors, 'forestry, agriculture and horticulture'.

In these sectors the skilled traditions are few and weak, and the Part 2-training courses are founded upon the tradition of semi-skilled worker-training. As main areas within EFG-training, they were established in 1979 and 1977 respectively - i.e. much later than the other 6 EFG-main areas. With regard to employment, the Part 2-courses fall - typically enough - within labour market-sectors which are covered almost completely by the Danish Semi-skilled Workers' Union (SiD).

In building and construction, SiD has a single representative in EUU. In addition, there is one representative in the central advisory body, EUR; but the representation of unskilled unions in the EFG-system is counted in with this. In the system under the Law concerning apprentices, they are absent outside the two above-mentioned main vocational sectors.[10]

When the EFG-Experimental Law was passed i 1972, expectations were high (cf. section 2, section 12) that the new vocational training system would be able to eliminate the residual group. The present SiD, in particular, thus played an active part in getting hitherto unskilled sectors classed as EFG-Part 2-training courses. There were proposals in building and construction in 1973 for seven new Part 2-training courses, some taken from the semi-skilled worker-courses and some having new elements. They were then abandoned, mostly owing to the lack of applicants. Being only new extensions of a basic training course composed so as to satisfy the interests of the trade committees of the 'old' building unions regarding course-content, their classification as EFG-Part 2-training was not attractive. It implied, of course, both a basis-year with public grants for the trainees (at that time) and then a Part 2, markedly of the nature of semi-skilled worker-training - on apprentice wages to which the alternative would be to get time until reaching 18 years of age to take a different and better paid path and then undergo semi-skilled worker-training, with the much larger loss-of-earnings allowance for the duration of the course.

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[10] With the exception of the tiny paviors' union, which as at 1 October 1984 counted 43 apprentices and 13 EFG-Part 2-students.

Real changes would probably have required the redesigning of basic training for the building and construction sector, combined with a Part 2-system based upon the division of labour on building sites not following the traditional skilled-unskilled pattern. So long as the trade committees are able to and wish to keep their apprentice training courses and maintain their position - also as Part 2 EFG-courses with a contractual obligation, etc. - then major changes are hardly possible.

In this respect, the expectations were exaggerated that the EFG-system would in time be able to ensure that all young persons would receive training conferring a vocational qualification - as were also the hopes that the vocational training committees could co-ordinate and initiate a restructuring of the many apprentice and EFG-Part 2-lines of training. The most important agency here is the trade committees, the FU-level, which has close contact with the labour market-sectors. This does not mean at all that the system is rigid; on the contrary, in the individual trade committees strong interests of the labour-market organizations exist in 'training-cover' for new qualification-requirements which might arise in connection with the trade's labour market-sector hitherto. One can therefore speak about organized competition between the different trade training-courses (and in relation to corresponding courses within the semi-skilled worker-system and technician training). The result of this organized competition within the control of 'trade self-management' will be dynamic adaptation of vocational training systems to new qualification-requirements - through a process of 'step-by-step changes' in the relationship between production, labour-market organizations and vocational training. This process is co-ordinated to some extent by the public authorities, by the employers' organizations and by the trade union movement (all three of which also have internal conflicts within them) - but the driving force and the decisive influence is located low in the hierarchy, in the trade committees and the other equal-representation bodies which represent the social partners within a labour market-sector.

3.4. Relationship between 'trade self-management' and the Government

3.4.1. 'Trade self-management' and the Directorate for Vocational Education (DfE)

Although in theory the scope that exists for 'trade self-management' to lay down independently the training rules within the master apprenticeship-system is still wider than within the EFG-system, practically all changes in EFG-and apprentice-training involve proposals passing though the vocational training committees (EUU) and the Vocational Training Councol (EUR) and the proposals also have to be handled and decided upon by the Ministry of Education.

An attempt will be made, in what follows, to explain how the respective social partners view the allocation of responsibility and work in connection with the development of the trade vocational training systems.

The initiative for introducing a new system of training or course - or modifying an existing one - usually comes form a trade committee (FU) which has become aware of technical changes or changes in work organization within the branches of trade that are covered by the labour market organisations' representatives on the trade committee. Within the engineering and other metal-using industry's sector there are 10 so-called 'reference groups' with the special function of continuous looking out for new qualification-requirements of this kind. On the basis of this they apply to the DfE, through the FU, for funds to carry out a so-called 'TF-study' - a technical and trade ('teknisk-faglig') specification of qualification-requirements and desirable objectives for trade training to cover these requirements. If the need is well-documented, both qualitatively and quantitatively , and if it does not also involve, or should not involve, related trade training courses, it will progress painlessly from the trade committee which was in charge of the TF-study, via EUU and EUR, to the Vocational Training Directorate (DfE). DfE will then institute a so-called 'TP-study' (technical, pedagogical study), which will draw up a teaching objectives-specification, a teaching guide and a funding guide for the new trade training course, on the basis of the specification of objectives and qualifications-requirements from the TF-study.

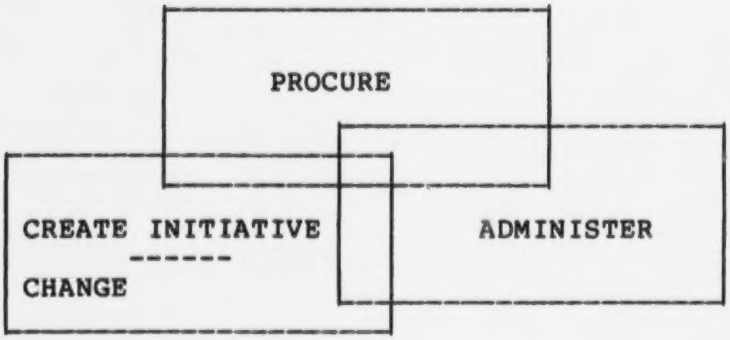
Then, when the decision is taken to start the course, this forms the basis of the instruction given at the vocational schools.

This description, in which the FU is responsible for the TF-study and DfE for the TP-study, corresponds to the DfE's view of how the work should be allocated. The social partners must report the objectives and qualification-requirements; how they will be achieved and with what finance falls within the responsibility and respective areas of authority of the Directorate and of the vocational schools.

The social partners hold different views regarding the allocation of the work. In a wall chart from the Iron and Steel Employers' Association, the function of "management by public authorities" is stated to be to "approve and administer". The "public authorities" are reckoned to include the Ministry of Education, DfE, EUR, and the Apprentices' Council. "Management in trade and industry" is divided into two groups. The first group embraces the EUU for the iron and steel, engineering and metal-working asector and the Apprentice Committee for engineering and metal-working industry (FFU), which are to be responsible for "policies, strategies and planning". The second group consists of reference groups and TF-groups, which are to be responsible for "aims and content". In a more detailed organiszation chart, the TF-groups are placed as sub-groups to the reference groups, and the TP-groups under the engineering industry's Apprentice Committee (FFU), the function of which is described as "deciding the aims and content of the training courses; proposing syllabuses, training rules and location of technical schools; approving places of instruction".

This enumeration of powers for the engineering industry's Apprentice Committee does not accord with DfE's conception of where the TP-study should be placed and of how teaching-guidance, etc., should be arranged.

It was illustrated with the following diagram by an officer in DfE:



On DfE's side it was felt that in the opinion of the labour market organizations DfE's function should lie only within the sphere of 'procurement', with the organizations themselves dealing with the remainder. Against this, it was asserted that the Ministry had a responsibility not only for the social partners and their estimation of training-requirements, but also for the individuals seeking training and for wider educational policy objectives. The management function in training policy for DfE was illustrated by the fact that the programme for setting up a computer engineer-course was not directly approved, but was co-ordinated, on the initiative of DfE, with the related elements in the electro-technical training system.

Facets of conflict exist also with regard to planning of capacity and allocation of training posts between the different trade sectors. The 'trade self-management'-side is pressing for more such posts to be established than there is on-job training capacity to absorb them - which will produce a favourable situation for the master craftsmen in the trade, but not for the young persons concerned. The number of young applicants does not always match the on-job training opportunities, either - expecially at the level of individual trades. But the training policy-responsibility for the young is in accord with DfE's own interest in not defraying the expenses of apprentices for whom capacity is insufficient for them to be fully trained.

The same kind of divergence regarding planning priorities exists with regard to the geographical widening of basic training capacity - which FU and FFU are supporting, because it increases recruitment, and which DfE wishes to restrict because the small units are too expensive in equipment. The policy concerning the Part 2-Courses are the opposite: here 'trade self-management' wants vocational schools to be as advanced and specialized as possible.

Of a more organizational nature is the question to whom do trade consultants actually belong - not officially, since in this respect they are employed by DfE, but in practical reality.

Within the individual trade committees, the labour market organizations are themselves responsible for the secretariat-function. Prior to 1977, the trade-consultants ('fagkonsulenterne') were considered to be at the disposal of the respective trade committees. The other office-holders who served the trade committee-system were attached to the secretariat for the EFG-Experimental Council ('EFG-forsøgsrådet') and the experimental-committees. When EUU and EUR were established on a permanent basis in 1977, it was not clear how far these secretaries came under the representatives of the labour market organizations who constituted the EUU's or under DfE in arranging the work. A practical indication of the answer to questions of this kind, which can never be answered unequivocally, is that two of the EUU-secretariats remained 'out in the town' - where, incidentally, the secretariats of the area-organizations were located: namely, those of the Iron and Steel, Engineering and other Metal-using Industries' EUU and the Building and Construction sector's EUU.

It may be taken as an expression of the fact that the social partners within these sectors themselves perform the co-ordinating functions, on the basis of what can be mutually agreed within the participating FU and FFU.

However, during the last 10 years a step has been taken towards the DfE playing a bigger role in co-ordination. In 1977, in the Engineering and other metal-using industry-sector EUU was established separately from the Apprentice Committee of this industry (ML), which dealt with all matters concerning apprentices and belong to the Apprentices Council. But there was a close coincidence of personnel between the two bodies. On the EUU there was one representative for apprentices and one for the managements, who were not members of ML. And in ML, there was one employers' and one trade union representative on the committee besides the others who were 'the same old crowd'. According to the organization chart of the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association (JA), all matters are first handled in ML and then EFG-matters are passed on to the Engineering and other metal-using industry's EUU.

Under the joint ministerial order of 1982, however, ML was also placed under EUR; but in a way such that matters concerning the in-firm training-sector continued to be under the Apprentices Council (cf. Law of 1956).

EUU and EUR thus now have clear official powers of co-ordination, and it is now also clear that the secretariat for EUU comes under DfE - regardless of geographical location (cf. sub-section 4.4.).

In general, the change has taken place also whereby the trade-consultants (particularly specialist-teachers who work part-time with DfE's planning of training) are now clearly regarded as DfE's personnel. They have the right to take part in the relevant FU's meetings, but not as appointees of the FU; they are representatives of the Ministry of Education.

There are no funds available in DfE for researching new qualification-requirements, etc.; responsibility for this rests with the participants in the FU-system. Nor is there any own funding for qualification-research and pedagogical research at SEL, the National Vocational Teacher Training Institution.

However, funds do exist for research and development work. The trade committee-system would like to have these funds at its disposal - as would the schools also; but DfE prefers to administer them itself and allocate them to relevant projects, on application.

Lastly, a matter will be mentioned which does not concern the relationship between 'trade self-management' and DfE, but the system of trade management's own mode of operation in relation to questions of trade demarcation and contractual obligation.

In August 1983, the Service Station Employers' Association ('Servicestationernes Arbejdsgiverforening') asked the vocational training committee (EUU) for the land transport-sector to formulate a proposal for 'service assistant-training' as an EFG-Part 2-course. The field of work was to be the shops at service stations, on supermarket-lines, and also possibly help for motorist-customers - changing a bulb or a windscreen wiper, for example. The land transport EUU appointed a study group and made a proposal in May 1984. When the case was heard through the EUU-system, strong protests came from the commercial and office clerical sector (HK), while in engineering and metal-working the question as to whether it affected auto-repair mechanichians' work would have been considered; but it was decided that there was no question of this. For HK, however, the proposal broke the trade demarcation for the shops-sector; it fell within a trade sector recognized in the Law concerning apprentices, in whichHK claimed to have the right to organize. The case was considered under trade law, and on 12 June 1985 an arbitrator ruled that HK did have the right to organize. However, HK's attitude was not governed by a desire to take over training. It was desired that service stations should be kept within their trade demarcation-area, the shops-sector, as the field of employment, but the sector was considered to be unsuitable and too narrow for an independent training system.

This should illustrate the point that co-ordination is carried out not only by DfE, but by the whole advisory management system. It shows that the FU-system also implies the need for a certain content of regular training which confers qualification for employment in other places, before a training course can be approved as apprentice training. In practice, the service-assistant training was far too narrow for shop training.

Otherwise, the training proposal was then raised within the semi-skilled worker-system. Owing to financial priorities, it had to be abandoned also here. 'Organized competition' thus implied also that qualitative requirements should be retained for a vocational training scheme - it is organized, rather than anarchical, competition!

3.4.2. Trade self-management and the Directorate for Labour Market Training

The division of labour between 'trade self-management' and the AMU-Directorate appears to be far clearer than within DfE's area. Branch committees (BU) and continued training-committees (EU) receive money and not personnel from the AMU-Directorate, for administration of the AMU-courses. The committees set priorities for the courses and their location; but for administering and planning the courses BU and EU can 'borrow' consultants from the AMU-Directorate.

When BU or EU wish to modify the content of particular course modules, or establish new ones, the explanation of labour market requirements and the recommendation for the way in which a new course can meet these qualification-requirements must follow the so-called '10-point programme'. When this has been fulfilled, the new or revised course is included in the list of approved courses, after which it is up to BU and EU themselves to set the financial priorities for it and deal with the question as to the frequency and location of this course.

The AMU-system may therefore certainly seem to be rather centralized, regarding content; but the social partners thus exert strong influence upon this content and, on the other hand, utilization of the given supply of course modules is very flexible and open to local influence upon the supply, particularly of semi-skilled worker-courses -

and this also makes it an instrument of diversified labour market-policy.

Some changes always take place regarding the planned courses which BU and EU expect to hold at the beginning of a year, and extra courses are set up often to meet acute needs in a particular firm.

This degree of freedom for 'trade self-management' - which perhaps should be described rather as 'organization management' - is intentional from the side of the system. In the AMU-Directorate the view is that the AMU-system is obviously founded upon labour market policy and not upon training policy, and for the same reason there must (should) also be organization management.

The reason why slight discord nevertheless exists - between the organizations, on the one hand, and the AMU-Directorate, on the other - is certainly to be found in the higher-level of setting of priorities between industry sectors and programmes, primarily in the changes, initiated by the Government, in the positioning of AMU-policy within the spectrum lying between being work-place- and firm-orientated or being employment-orientated.

In day-to-day administration and in the formulation of course-content, 'trade self-management' seems to have great influence and, in practice, to have had powers delegated to it which in other countries would probably be exercised by a national directorate.

3.4.3. Critical studies of management of vocational education and labour market training

In the Introduction, in section I, the fact was mentioned that a study of the management-situation within vocational training was started in August 1985 - a task which was entrusted to a firm of management consultants, PA International Consultants A/S, in conjunction with a management group. It will be discussed later in the section.

3.4.3.1. Assessments by the Minister of Education

In recent years, the agreement which has existed hitherto concerning public finance and decisive influence for the labour market organizations' joint recommendations on vocational and labour market training-policy, has become a subject of political debate.

A couple of quotations from a fairly long article on training policy-objectives by Minister of Education Bertel Haarder [11] can illustrate a certain scepticism towards the function of the labour market organizations, 'trade self-management', within the youth training system.

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11 In the Ministry's official journal, 'Uddannelse' (Education) No.7, 1986, pp.329-363.

"...And the business community (the employers) will be urged to contribute towards the most expensive training courses, particularly continued training. It will create greater responsibility in both students and customers, who have hitherto supported uncritically any extension and increase in the cost (of courses)".
(p.336, our underscoring).

In vocational training, 'the customers' may have considerable influence; only the question is: who is to represent 'the customers' and how. Is it to be nation-wide organizations? If so, there will be risk of rigidity and lack of innovation, because far too good opportunities will exist for more or less irrelevant conflicts of interests to prevent innovation". (p.337).

Following this criticism of the existing form of 'trade self-management', the Minister of Education then continues with consideration of the question whether the governing boards of the vocational schools, rooted in local labour markets, would be better organs of management - for solving bottleneck-problems, for example. The reason for them, for 'paradox-problems' and for 'professionalisation and bureaucratisation' of the welfare society, are given on p.340:
"It is the rigid, enclosing systems created on the labour market and in the training schemes by the labour market organizations which cause these problems."

These views bear the stamp, of course, of being included in a programmatic article and being part of the debate on general training policy in the autumn of 1986. This sceptical attitude towards the role of the labour market organizations can be found in other contexts, in a toned-down form.

3.4.3.2. The Administration Department

It thus concerns a report from the regular review by the Ministry of Finance's administration department. [12] This discusses the whole field and - in the established tradition - takes a critical view of the division of labour between the ministries and of the question whether the objectives for the respective national managing boards are in accord with overall policy (which the Ministry of Finance always knows better than anyone, of course).

Among the problems which have to be solved in the short term, the 'demarcation-problem' between DfE and the AMU-Directorate, concerning the procurement of equipment for continued training-courses, is mentioned.

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12 Regular review: regular critical review of various branches of the Administration; 'Relationship and co-ordination between labour market training and vocational training', Copenhagen (August 1986).

Also, that the ability of the trade committees must be strengthened, to note new qualification-requirements and reorganize the courses for technological innovation - where applicable, through the AMU-Directorate's consultant-service.

There is mention also of an improved local information-link between AF and AMN (i.e. forecasts for growth in employment) and AMU and vocational training. That is to say, more orientation towards labour market demand dictated by the general level of economic activity, and thus in line with the widespread idea in Denmark of preventing paradox- and bottleneck-problems, as a prime objective.

However, the deeper causes of many of the more fundamental problems are said to be: "that the training is divided up very much on a labour market-basis', that 'trade self-management' exerts a strong influence upon admission to the training and that the content of the formal qualification and of the courses relates to one particular area of agreements". As a solution to this problem, in an interim report of 27.11.85 a proposal was made to reduce the 26 continued training committees to 8, equal to the number of EUU-sector-divisions.

The administration department is thus now focussing upon achieving a higher level of aggregation, including linking basic training and continued training, with a view to making the flexibility-objectives of labour market policy the overriding element.

3.4.3.3 PA-International Consultants A/S's study of 'Management of vocational education' for the Ministry of Education

The original idea for the study came from the Association of Principals of Technical Schools ('Sammenslutningen af forstandere ved de Tekniske Skoler'). It entered a climate of debate characterized by a desire for the decentralization and reduction of organizational rigidity and complexity in the management system - while at the same time, the assertion was made in the terms of reference that direct involvement of the social partners had many advantages.

Thus, in PA-Consultants' subsidiary report 2, 'analysis-phase', it is pointed out that the system is focussed upon development within the existing trade framework. The following points are listed as examples of what is functioning well:

- training courses are accepted by the social partners
- changes within the framework of the trades are keeping step with technological development
- newly-developed training courses are well received by firms and by the labour market
- the vocational training courses provide the students with a national qualification (pp.4-5)

The long procedure of establishing a new course through the FU-EUU-EUR-DfE-system is criticized for being slow and for not involving actual case-work in some parts of it. (pp.19-20)

Other points of criticism are that contact with the business and industrial community is fairly poor, apart from contact through the labour market organizations, and that no official body exists in which ideas for training innovations are collected and, where appropriate, implemented (p.31).

In PA-Consultants' subsidiary report 3, 'the proposal-phase', criticism of the organizational system is summarized as follows:

"- Number of organs. The number alone of the different organs which have an essential role in the system, either advisory or decision-making, and the partial overlap in their functions, make co-ordination a particularly complex task.

- The structure of the advisory system, in which the actual distribution of influence does not provide adequately for updating and development.

- Procedures within the system are long and time-consuming. This contributes towards the development of informal channels and otherwise adversely affects the efficiency of the system.

- There is no clear demarcation of responsibility, with the result that in some instances inappropriate duplication of administration takes place and, in others, there are gaps in responsibility.

- Centralization. The present form of management is highly centralized, hampering activities and the achievement of objectives at the local level.

- In connection with the organization of the Directorate, we (i.e. PA-Consultants) discovered a number of fundamental problems, including the considerable requirements of co-ordination; also, that a number of parallel contact-points exist in relation to the schools." [13]

In the study, the EUU-system in particular had been criticized for playing a role more formal than real.The reference to the fact that training innovations and updating take place remarkably well within the existing framework, points to the FU-level as the decisive element - except for the Iron and Steel and Engineering and other Metal-using Industry's EUU and the Commercial and Clerical sector (HK) EUU, which were able to perform a co-ordinating function in relation to the FU's included within their main sector. DfE's negotiations also take place directly in

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13 In PA-Consultants 3, the 6 items listed here are enumerated on p.3

relation to these two EUU's, whereas in all other cases they take place directly with the respective FU's. [14]

In can also be formulated in a way such that the individual trades with their associated labour market organizations form the decisive unit; but with the exception of the Engineering-sector and the HK-sector, in which the labour market organizations and the trades themselves are able to co-ordinate their interests at a broad trade- or industry-, or main vocational sector-, level.

This is hardly attributable to the structure of the management system; it is, rather, due to both the Engineering-sector and HK being more homogeneous - in both organization, training and agreements - than the other EFG-main sectors. For these - and also for the 'independent' secretariat of the building and construction-sector - it is a matter of widespread lack of this co-ordination or aggregation of interests from the trade labour market segments. Remedying of this deficiency seems to be one of the main reasons for PA-Consultants' proposal for changing the management system. But since there is widespread criticism of the way in which (most) EUU's have functioned, it is proposed that they should be abolished.

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14 PA-Consultants 2, p.25.

PA propose instead that about 10 sector committees should be set up, which could have an initiative-taking, co-ordinating function for the updating of training within a vocational sector (p.5 and pp.34-36 in PA3).

The status of the trade committees would change, to 'assisting the sector committees with the updating of courses within their own trade area, and monitoring execution of the theoretical and practical parts of the training courses in accordance with the approved objectives and plans' (PA3 p.34; our underscoring). The role of the trade committees would thus be reduced to an advisory and supervisory one.

It is thus a matter of extensive transfer of powers from the FU-level to the EUU-level, in proposal PA3, since 'sector committees' is really only a new name for EUU, but with modified powers and a different, non-specific classification of the present 8 main vocational sectors/EUU-sectors.

It is proposed that EUR's composition and powers should remain largely unchanged. Equal representation of the social partners is retained; but a clearly advisory status is marked in relation to the Ministry of Education.

These proposals are the main ones for elucidation of the role of 'trade self-management' in relation to the Government. Other proposals by PA-Consultants will not be commented upon here.

Instead, the points of criticism will be revealed which accompanied the report from the Ministry of Education's steering group, in which senior officials from the Ministry of Education, as well as from the Ministry of Finance, the social partners and the vocational schools were represented:

The steering group is of the opinion that the recommendations not sufficiently take the conclusions of subsidiary report 2 (analysis-phase) as their basis.

"What is lacking, however, is emphasis of the possibilities for updating and innovation which lie within the in-firm part of the training courses, and the possibilities of this kind which have their source in the trade committees' contact with the labour market".

- In other words, emphasis of the value of participation by the social partners, both in the on-job part of the training itself and in the trade committees' role within the management system.

As a direct extension of the FU-pole, 'trade self-management' having received its share of the credit for quality in the apprentice training courses, their modernization and close contact with labour market needs, the opposite pole of the system, DfE, is given the credit for its role not being merely administrative:

> "In the opinion of the steering group, moreover, the report does not show clearly enough that the Direc-

> torate has not only a financial and administrative responsibility, but also an overall training policy- and teacher training- responsibility for vocational training courses - and hence also responsibility for the innovation in training which was discussed in connection with the function of the advisory bodies."

EUR's comments are on several points in accord with those of the steering group. It is worth noting in this connection that, in the opinion of EUR, PA-Consultants forget that the courses are alternance-training (sandwich) courses; for PA the school-side is the central element and the in-firm training element is supplementary. Contrary to this view, EUR points to the importance of the FU-level and the significance of involvement of the social partners.

> "Whereas these courses are alternance training courses in which the constituent elements of school education and in-firm training rank equally, the report (PA3) leaves the overall impression that school education is regarded as the central part of training and on-job training as a supplement to this." (EUR, 12.12.86, p.2) and "(what is lacking is) corresponding emphasis of the possibilities for innovation and updating, the source of which lies in the trade committees' contact with the labour market". (EUR, 12.12.86, p.4)

EUR is thus critical of PA's emphasis of the schools and local trade committees as primary agents of updating and innovation.

3.4.3.4. Regionalization of management? Ideas of the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Labour

The demand for nation-wide qualification has been common to all elements of the trade committee-system and has resulted in very marked centralization of the regulation of school education.

The equal-representation trade committees at the different vocational schools ('fagkomiteer', FK) are thus appointed by the country-wide FU ('fagudvalg'). FK participate, as local representatives on behalf of the FU, in the approval of training posts, the commonest practice being that FK submit reports to FU, which in all normal cases follow the recommendation and issue the formal approval. In addition, FK carry out inspection of instruction given in the trade and check the qualifications of teachers at the vocational schools. Official local powers to influence both the quality and the quantity of apprenticeships are small. Their real role varies widely for different trades and schools; but some FK's have an exceptionally good overview of developments within the trade and the labour market, and are active in submitting proposals for updating trade vocational training courses.

PA-Consultants' proposal also included, of course, some points and proposals for the decentralization of powers to the local school-level and the regional level.

The steering group, with the exception of the Administration Department's representative, dissociated itself from the proposals to locate powers in the planning system at the regional level - i.e. in relation to the employment service (AF) and the labour market boards (AMN). This is consistent with the recommendation described in sub-section 3.4.3.2. described above. Thus, the Administration Department not only wanted the many trade committees (FU) under the vocational training committees, branch committees, etc., to be combined and reduced to 8 main sectors; these were also to function as regional authorities together with the system of AMN/AF, so that divergent trends on the labour market at different places in the country could be met with diversified inputs of vocational courses and labour market courses.

The Administration Department's requirements of co-ordination and aggregation - which are followed up by the Budget Department in a comprehensive 'supplement' to the PA's management-study [15], - are thus aimed at arranging planning of the supply of vocational courses and labour market courses in another single, wider policy-perspective, namely that of labour market policy, with adaptation of the training courses to changes, as quickly as possible, in accordance with the current needs of the labour market.

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[15] Budget Department 1986.

The same aim can be found in a report from a study group in the Ministry of Labour, entitled: 'Information link between the employment service (AF) and labour-market and vocational training courses', March 1986.

Considerations of this kind could be summarized as subordination of training policy to overall economic policy- and labour market policy-objectives. However, the short term-element in the quantitative weighting of the various training courses would be a problem for 'trade self-management', since the labour market organizations take a longer-term view of desirable recruitment to the trade or industry. It would be worse, of course, if qualitative differences in the qualification profiles as between courses were allowed to grow also. 'Decentralization' is a threat to 'country-wide qualification' and to the maintenance of trade market segments.

3.4.3.5. Direct market- or labour market organization-management?

The standpoint of the study group under the Administration and Budget Departments in the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Labour can also be described as arranging the vocational courses in accordance with the aggregate qualification-demand from individual firms. According to this view, the management system should be arranged so as to support market trends in the best possible way.

So far, 'trade self-management' has signified arranging vocational courses in accordance with the trend of qualification in the individual trades and industries - in the way, it should be well noted, that the labour market organizations have interpreted the trend and decided in favour of quantitative changes and changes in content.

The management system is directed here towards organizations acting upon market trends - within their respective labour market sectors, but co-ordinated to a greater or lesser extent with vocational training policy as a whole.

4. Operation of the vocational training system at trade- and industry-level

4.1. Differences between training, occupational and organizational demarcations

Whereas so far it has been a matter of describing conditions concerning youth and adult vocational training in Denmark in general, in this section examples will be given of the situation within engineering and other metal-using industry, the building and construction sector and the banking sector.

Of these three sectors, banking can be defined the most clearly, from the standpoint of both training, employment and organization. With a student-intake in 1984 of 1 230, it accounts for a good 10% of the total intake to the EFG-Part 2 and apprentice training courses within the commerce and clerical sector. With banking occupying a special position in relation to the formal vocational training system, it is not a matter of a small, insignificant sector; on the contrary, it is an exception which can also help towards understanding of the rule. Thus, it is a fairly large, well-defined sector; but it does not constitute the general rule.

For the sector of engineering and other metal-using industry and the building and construction sector, the converse situation applies. With respect to training, these two are so big relative to the other category of sectors which are classified under 'craft + manufacturing industry', that they together represent the general rule. Of the total intake in 1984 to EFG-Part 2 and master apprenticeship - 19 090 in number - for trades in craft and manufacturing industry, engineering and other metal-using industry accounted for 7 869 and building and construction for 5 177, or 41% and 27%, respectively, and together 68%. Thus, while they have the advantage of providing coverage with regard to training, owing to their size and heterogeneity there are also disadvantages when attempts are to be made to link together training conditions with conditions of employment of vocational structure and organizational structure.

The possibilities of identifying the situation of apprenticeships and on-job training posts within trade and industry, analyzed by firm-size and by trades and industries, are extremely slight in the normal official statistics. For elucidating this, one has to rely upon special computer runs or on linking different sources - a procedure which is dubious, methodologically. The alternative sources include statistics of labour market organizations - which, however, involve the problem that non-organized people within the trade or industry are not counted in, and that the definition of organization-memberships is rarely identical with the classifications of official occupational statistics.

To illustrate the problem, it may be mentioned that, according to the Danish Bureau of Statistics, in 1984 the iron and steel industry employed a total of 168 151 hourly-paid workers. According to the 1985 annual report of JA (Iron and Steel Employers' Association), the number of employees in the member-firms of JA was 161 368 in the third quarter of 1984. But the difference of 7 000 is not only due to chance seasonal variations, and it cannot be interpreted to the effect that JA should have an organized percentage of very nearly 95%.

Quite a large proportion of JA's members are registered in the official occupational statistics under trades and industries other than in iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry - as in the case of the Motor Industry Employers' Association ('Motorbranchens Arbejdsgiverforening'), for example, in which car dealers are counted under commerce.

Conversely, most of the approx. 21 000 employed with member-firms of the Danish Master Smiths' Association ('Dansk Smedemesterforening'), which is outside the Danish Employers' Association (DA), must presumably be counted in with the 168 151 by the Danish Bureau of Statistics. Lastly, there are some non-organized employers - whose numbers are difficult to assess.

If we try to elucidate the problem from the apprentices-aspect: the population of apprentices and of Part 2-EFG-students in the trades of engineering and other metal-using industry was stated by the Danish Bureau of Statistics to be 22 193 in October 1984.

In JA's member-firms, this population in the third quarter of 1984 was 9 736, accounting for approx. 44% of the total number of apprentices + Part 2-EFG-students. Of JA's total number of employees, apprentices represented about 6%, and of adult skilled workers in JA-firms approx. 21%.

The Danish Master Smiths' Association (DS) does not keep any actual statistics, but gives the total number employed as approx. 21 000, of which approx. 7 000 are apprentices and Part 2-EFG-students, representing just under 32% of the total number of engineering and other metal-using industry-apprentices in 1984. Within the DS-member firms, apprentices accounted for 33% of the total work-force - i.e. 1 apprentice for every 2 adults.

In relation to the total number of employees, 22 193, however, there is still no explanation of approx. 5 500 apprentices' and EFG-Part 2-students' placement with firms. Part of the explanation lies in the non-organized employers and master craftsmen.

Another part lies in the fact that some apprentices and Part 2-EFG-students within engineering and other metal-using trades are not under on-the-job training in a firm within iron and steel, engineering and other metal-using industry at all, but in other trades and industries. Thus, it is known from one of the few joint computer-runs in 1981 that the place of training is outside this sector for 32.8% of mechanic/fitter-apprentices + Part-2 EFG-students, and for 54.9% of smith-apprentices + Part 2-EFG-students. The majority (50.2%) of motor mechanic-Part 2-EFG-trainees and apprentices were employed in firms which are classified by the Danish Bureau of Statistics under retail trade - which in practice means automobile firms with the emphasis mainly upon commerce, as against being predominantly repair workshops. For one of the big apprenticed trades within building and construction - the trade of carpenter - 24.5% of EFG-Part 2-students and apprentices had an on-job post with a firm which did not fall within the building and construction occupational category.

These problems with the differences between demarcations based upon form of training, occupational statistics and organization must be borne in mind in connection with the review of the two sectors in the following sections.

The decision of the labour market organizations as to who must be represented in the system of the trade committees which manage vocational training, can be said to be a practical solution for definition of the connections between production and the training system.

4.2. The labour market organizations

4.2.1. The trade union-side: Training demarcations coincides with union demarcations

In sub-section 3.3.5. the relationship between the management of vocational training and the structure of the trade union movement was briefly discussed.

For training statistics, the structure of the trade union movement is no problem - precisely because organization conforms to training boundaries. The trade union movement is a unified organization with no sub-division into various religious or political categories, and within the hourly-paid worker-category there are only very few, small unions outside the LO (Confederation of Trade Unions). LO's membership of just under 1.4 million includes a very high percentage for unskilled and skilled workers, in both the private and the public sector. The main organization for salaried employees (FTF) has about 320 000 members. The unionized percentage as a whole was about 93% in 1979.[1]

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[1] This figure is cited in Kjellberg (1983) - which, incidentally, is a splendid introduction to the structure of the Danish trade union movement in a comparative context, embracing 10 West European countries and also the USA and Australia.

The two biggest unions are HK (commerce and clerical) with 311 000 members and SID (semi-skilled workers' union, sub-divided into the building and construction-group, the manufacturing-group, the transport-group and the horticulture, forestry and agriculture-group), with 312 000. With manufacturing industry as the primary field of employment, the unskilled womens' union (KAD), with approx. 103 000, is also one of the big ones.

The Danish Metal-workers Union (DM) has 138 500 members, all of whom are in principle skilled workers. Since 1953 an agreement has been in existence, to the effect that workers with job functions that fall within the sphere of DSMF/Danish Metal-workers' Union shall be paid in accordance with DM's agreement and can be transferred to the Union. According to the Danish Bureau of Statistics' figures for 1984, the total of about 60 000 skilled workers in iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry includes members of skilled workers' unions other than DM, namely those in unions which belong to 'Kartellet CO-Metal'. In April 1984 there was a reported total of 12 unions participating in CO-Metal, representing 222 606 workers in all, of which DM has 113 000 (out of the 138 500), SiD 63 445, KAD 25 000 and HK 10 774. Among the remainder, the proportion represented by the building trades is stated below.

The approx. 55 000 unskilled workers in engineering and other metal-using industry, according to the Danish Bureau of Statistics, and 38 109 unskilled men and 15 100 women -

i.e. a total of 53 209 unskilled workers - in JA's statistics for the third quarter of 1984 are virtually all unionized in SiD and KAD.

On the basis of training, the skilled workers in the building trades together number about 108 000, namely:

		of which, in CO-Metal(Apr.84)
Carpenters' and Joiners' Union	48 253	1 600
Electricians' Union	24 053	3 200
Painters' Union	13 917	940
Bricklayers' Union	13 404	-
Plumbers' Union	8 643	1 500
Total	108 272	7 240

This exceeds accordingly the number of approx. 72 000 skilled workers employed in the building and construction-sector. As shown in the table, approx. 7 240 of the "building" unions' members belong to CO-Metal and hence they are probably employed in firms in the iron and steel industry. The position regarding employment is otherwise unclear, however, as is also the position of apprenticeships relative to the demarcations of occupational statistics.

But the position organizationally is not; an apprentice painter or a journeyman painter is a member of the painters' union (in so far as they are unionized at all) -

regardless of whether the person concerned is employed in a shipyard, a master-painter's firm or the main workshop of the Danish Railways.

In the trade committees for apprentice training and continued training, the skilled workers' union can thus represent unequivocally the workers' side. The organizational problems with representation on the unions' side begin at the more aggregated levels - the EUU's and EUR in the case of basic training and the Training Committees and the Labour Market Training Council (AMU-Council) for the AMU-training - where there must be a balance between representation of the skilled workers' unions and that of the unskilled workers' unions, and where LO itself comes into the picture. LO has quite generally far fewer powers in relation to its member-organizations than DA has, correspondingly, on the other side; the old abbreviation 'DsF' ('De samvirkende Fagforbund' - 'Co-operating trade unions') really describes the situation. LO can play a primarily co-ordinating and initiating role and has been very active concerning the 'big' questions in youth training policy, namely EFG and apprenticeship, pay during the EFG-basis year, promotion of on-job training, reduction of the 'residual group', attempts to establish the industrial, social and health sectors as new, main areas in EFG, etc. Trade-specific questions, on the other hand, are regarded as the respective unions' own affair, unless they themselves request LO to intervene. Nevertheless, around 1980 a special joint secretariat for training policy, located at the headquarters of the Danish Metal-workers' Union, was formed by 7 of the skilled workers' unions. This took place probably under the influence of the increasing volume of discussion at the level of the main organizations, between DA and LO, concerning EFG-apprenticeship-problems relating to the 1977-law and its follow-up, and problems of on-job training-posts coming to a head. In the face of possible intervention that this might cause, the 'seven sisters' wished to stand united in order to safeguard the standard and quality of trade training courses. The seven have since become 12, and on suitable occasions it has been emphasized that EFG- and apprentice-legislation give the FU's special powers which concern only the individual trade unions, and not LO. On the side of the unskilled workers, SiD in particular has shown itself to be outward-looking, and at the end of September 1986 SiD issued a leaflet in which the programme of training policy embraces the whole spectrum of vocational training, linked together with structural alterations of LO. LO's first move, on the other hand, has been closely bound up with the work of amending legislation.

4.2.2. The employers' side: Many training firms outside DA

In relation to the structure of training, the organizational situation is more complicated on the employers' side. The beginning of a tightening of the situation within iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry has already been indicated above.

We shall merely follow up here by pointing out that all of the employers' places on the Engineering and Metal-using Industry Apprentices Committee and in the EUU are held - in the case of the engineering and metal-using sector, all except one for the Danish Master Smiths' Association (with approx. 32% of the apprentices) - by the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association, JA (with approx. 44% of the apprentices; but representing, on the other hand, approx. 160 000 employed, as against DS's total of approx. 20 000 = 8 times as many).

In the iron and steel, engineering and other metal-using sector, therefore, not very much doubt can exist as to who is most important in relation to 'trade self-management'; it is JA, with some necessary consideration of DS. Equally clearly, on the workers' side it is the Danish Metalworkers' Union, together with the other skilled workers' trade unions in CO-Metal (in so far as their training comes under the EUU for engineering and other metal-using industry.

In the building and construction-sector, member-firms of DA provide relatively less coverage than in engineering and other metal-using industry. In building and construction, DA-members employed a total of 54 034 workers in the third quarter of 1984 - compared with 108 521 in the building and construction occupational statistics for 1984 - i.e. a DA-coverage of approx. 50%.

In DA-member-firms there were 5 234 apprentices + Part 2-EFG-students - compared with approx. 14 248 in building and construction trades as a whole. The DA-share of apprentices is thus approx. 37%, compared with 50% of all workers.

These points will be discussed in more detail for both building and construction and for engineering and other metal-using industry in the following sections.

Here, however, a different aspect will be emphasized, as part of the introduction to the presentation of trades and industries and the views and attitudes of their labour market organizatiions. The full weight of the two main occupational sectors within craft and manufacturing trades is indicated merely by the fact that they together account for 68% of apprentices + the EFG-Part 2-intake. On the LO-side it does not give rise to any problem of representativeness; the skilled workers' unions within engineering, etc., and building and construction can rightly point to their number of apprentices as an argument for influence upon LO's training policy. It is arguable whether this is an acceptable criterion; but it cannot be argued that - with the situation as it is - they speak with a weight equivalent to 68% of the total apprentice-intake within craft and manufacturing industry.

The case is different for the employers' (DA) side. DA's organization-percentage is generally far lower than the

LO's. Thus, DA-member-firms represented a total force of only 319 818 workers in the second quarter of 1986. The number of salaried employees was 166 662; the combined total workforce of DA-member-firms was therefore 486 480. This is roughly equivalent to *approx. 40% of the total number of wage-earners employed in the private sector*; consequently, there are many firms in the private sector which are not DA-members. Besides the non-organized, however, there are a good number of employees with various master craftsmen's organizations whose members are primarily small firms - in many instances of a craft nature - outside the larger towns, which are responsible for a large part of apprentice training.

In DA-member-firms there were a total of 17 149 apprentices and EFG-Part 2-students in craft and manufacturing trades in the second quarter of 1986, of which 9 643 were in the iron and steel industry and 5 243 in building and construction firms. On the basis of this, *the two sectors account for almost 90% of the number of apprentices under the DA* - and the percentage measured for all training occupations is certainly even higher.

The total number of apprentices for DA-firms in 1984 was 15 947, whereas the total number for craft and manufacturing trades according to DS was 50 758 as at 1 October 1985; i.e. *in all, just under 34% of craft and manufacturing apprentices were employed in DA-firms*.

It can thus be difficult for DA to speak for all employer-interests in alternance training. In deciding internal policy, the engineering and other metal-using sector and the building-construction sector must speak with great weight - which is important when representatives are appointed to controlling organs such as EUR and in relation to negotiations with the Government. But in the building-construction sector, in particular, the situation is complex for DA, since account has to be taken of outside organizations and non-organized firms.

4.2.3. Unclear demarcations - but wide coverage of problems

Despite the obscurities which result from the diversity of the training-, occupation- and organization-criteria, the large place occupied by the iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using sectors as well as the building-construction sector in apprentice training, and their even greater importance and influence upon the structure of the labour market organizations, have the effect that statements made by organization-representatives in the organizations which they identify can together form a picture of vocational training policy outside the HK-sector.

4.3. Use of training in iron and steel and engineering industry

4.3.1. Youth vocational training

In iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry, both master apprenticeship and EFG-training-courses are used. Within master apprenticeship there are 33 recognized apprenticed trades, plus the 12 so-called 'minor' trades - making a total of 45. Of the 29 EFG-Part 2-branches, 20 coincide with apprenticed trades, so that there are in all 54 trade basic training schemes in the engineering and other metal-using sector. However, most of them are very thinly occupied, and 4 trades account for more than 60% of the intake. Within master apprenticeship, engine-fitters/mechanics, toolmakers, locksmiths and motor-mechanics together number 2 616 in the 1984-intake, i.e. 61% of the total intake to apprentice training in the sector. In EFG-Part 2-training, the same 4 trades or branches preponderate, representing here 62% of the total intake to EFG-Part 2, numbering 2 236 in iron and steel and engineering trades.

Of the total intake to craft and manufacturing trades in 1984, iron and steel and engineering trades accounted for 41%. The share of all EFG-Part 2-students was 47%, whereas it was 37% for apprentices.

The total intake with apprenticeship- or on-job training contracts to the sector remained more or less constant in the period 1977/78 to 1983/84. The level lay at just under 8 000; but during 1980/81 the intake was down to about 6 000. After 1983/84, growth took place - to a good 9 000 in 1986.

Although the sector had the lead in establishing the EFG-system, the spread of EFG-training took place slowly. In 1977/78, the EFG-share was 15.6%, but it rose to just under one-half of the intake - 45.9% - in 1983/84, after which the proportion of EFG fell back slightly to 42.3% in 1986.

4.3.2. Labour market training

Semi-skilled worker training

Within iron and steel and engineering industry, the number of course-beginners rose from just under 12 000 in 1979 to a good 26 000 in 1985. At the same time, engineering and other metal-using industry's share of the total number of course-participants increased from approx. 21% to approx. 29% in the same period; i.e. nearly one-third of all course-beginners attend a semi-skilled worker-course within engineering and other metal-using industry.

Of the total number of employed unskilled workers in the sector, the number of course-beginners in 1980 represents 25%, and this rises to 38.6% in 1982 and 45.4% in 1984.

Regarding the employment situation, the majority of course participants are either in employment both before and after the course, or unemployed both before and after. Taken together, in 1984 and 1985 they represented approx. 80%. At the same time, there was a fall in the preponderance of unemployed - 53.4% in 1984, compared with 31% for employed, to 43% unemployed in 1985, as against 41% for employed. There thus seems to be at present a tendency towards increasing use of semi-skilled worker-courses for employed workers and a corresponding decreasing proportion for unemployed.

Continued training of skilled workers

In the sphere of continued training also, iron and steel and engineering industry shows great activity. The sector's share of the total number of course-beginners was a good 30% in 1984 and 1985. Of employed skilled workers, it represented 55%, and of the number of members of the Danish Metal-workers' Union, 17%. DM has, incidentally, also members who are employed in a large number of trades and industries other than iron and steel and engineering industry.

As for semi-skilled worker-training, the two most important categories in relation to the employment situation are the unemployed and those workers who are employed both before and after taking a course. These two groups together represent about 90%. The employed accounted for 58.9% in 1984 and their proportion increased to 64.8% in 1985. The unemployed represented 31.2% in 1984 and this proportion fell to 21.4% in 1985. The same tendency as for semi-skilled worker-training applies, but with a larger employed-category. Continued training of skilled workers is thus used to a greater extent by workers already employed.

4.3.3. Trend of employment in iron and steel and engineering industry

The number of employed salaried workers and skilled and unskilled workers in iron and steel and engineering and other metal-using industry has been substantially reduced - by about 23%, or around 50 000, within the last 20 years. Engineering industry's share of the total number of employed salaried workers and skilled and unskilled workers in the labour force fell from 12.9% in 1965 to 8.3% in 1984.

Employment was rising slightly within iron and steel and engineering industry during the period 1965-1970.

As can be seen from table 4.1, in 1965 there were 218 547 employed in iron and steel and engineering industry, and 225 566 in 1970. The number of skilled workers was reduced and, at the same time, the numbers of both salaried employees and unskilled workers increased.

Table 4.1

Employment in iron- and metal-working industries

					Apprentices and EFG-Part 2-practicants:			
							Percentage EFG of:	
	Salaried employees	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Total employment	Accumulated population	Recruitment the last year	accumulated population	recruitment the last year
1984	52 401	62 114	53 636	168 151	22 193	7 869	37,9	45,9
1982	50 060	59 592	52 598	162 250	21 571	7 413	28,4	39,0
1980	53 395	63 342	65 927	182 664	21 082	6 855	18,2	24,1
1976	42 706	54 722	50 791	148 219	23 643	6 470	7,1	14,1
1970	48 353	107 929	69 284	225 566	-	7 362	-	-
1965	42 716	111 765	64 066	218 547	-	10 029	-	-
1960	-	-	-	-	-	7 204	-	-

Source: Register-based employment statistics (RAS) ultimo november 1984, supplemented by ATA-project-appendix 2 data.
For apprentices and EFG-Part 2-practicants, the source is Danmarks Statistik, Statistiske Efterretninger, which includes all apprentices and EFG-practicants in the metal trades, i.e. included those learning in firms outside the metal working sector.

Between 1970 and 1976, employment falls sharply to 148 219. This decrease in employment is allocated such that there is a large decrease in the proportion of skilled workers; but the relative significance of the other two categories increases, even though the numbers of both the unskilled and the salaried employees-categories fall also. In the period, the intake to apprentice and EFG-Part 2-training courses continues to fall.

From 1976 to 1980 employment rose again, with a fairly even distribution as between the three categories. In this period, the population of apprentices and EFG-Part 2-students falls within iron and steel and engineering trades, from 23 643 to 21 082, whereas the EFG-share increases from 7.1% to 18.2%. The intake begins to increase again, however, and the proportion of EFG-Part2-students rises sharply, from 14.1% in 1976 to 24.1% in 1980.

In the period 1980-82 employment falls, affecting especially the unskilled worker-group, so that their share decreases while both of the other two increase. At the same time, there is a modest increase in the numbers of apprentices and EFG-Part 2-students, and the EFG's share rises sharply to 28.4% in 1982. There is also a slight increase in intake, with an EFG-share of 39%.

From 1982 to 1984, there is a small increase in employment, with the distribution of employment remaining unaffected. Thus, in iron and steel and engineering industry in 1984 there were 37% skilled workers, 32% unskilled and 31% salaried employees. Apprentices and Part 2-EFG-students are included in the count under 'skilled workers'. However, the figure shown for apprentices and Part 2-EFG-students embraces everyone in the apprenticed engineering trades - including those under training in firms with fewer than 5 employees, or belonging to industries which are not classified with iron and steel and engineering industry. An indication of the importance of the latter is given in Annex I, tables 6 and 7. Comparison of the number of apprentices with the overall growth in employment within iron and steel and engineering must therefore be made with great care - but the combined figure for the population of apprentices + Part 2-EFG-studentsseems to be amazingly constant from 1976 to 1984. In the same period, the proportion of EFG-Part 2-students in the total population of youths with an on-job training contract or apprentice indentures grows from 7% to 38%. The intake to apprentice- and EFG-Part 2-training continues to increase slightly, and with an increasing EFG-share in 1984 of 45.9%.

Table 4.2
Skilled to unskilled workers-ratio in iron and steel and engineering industry

	1965	1970	1976	1980	1982	1984
Skilled:unskilled workers	1.7	1.5	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.2

Source: Register-based manpower statistics 1984
and ATA-project.

With the skilled to unskilled workers-ratio considered in isolation, it is typical that the relative importance of the skilled worker-category should decline through the period 1965-1980. From there being nearly twice as many skilled as unskilled workers in 1965, in 1980 the number of unskilled workers exceeded the skilled, after which skilled workers were again in the majority and there is an increasing tendency, although only slight.

Employment and firm-size

Danish iron and steel and engineering industry is characterized by numerous small and medium-sized firms, with only a limited number of very large firms. As will be seen from the table below, more than one-half of the firms have between 10 and 50 employees, and in 1984 only 41 firms had more than 500 employees. The very small firms - which are extremely important for apprentice and on-job training capacity - are not included in the statistics, which cover only firms with more than 5 employees.

Table 4.3
Number of firms in iron and steel and engineering industry, by size of work-force. 1984.

		Firms employing:						
	Number of firms	6-9 pers	10-19 pers	20-49 pers	50-99 pers	100-199 pers	200-499 pers	500 + pers
Iron and steel basic industries and foundries	79	7	20	22	17	10	2	1
Manufacture of metal products	760	144	250	209	76	50	28	3
Machinery industries	910	151	284	271	105	56	28	15
Electrical Equipment industries	276	31	71	85	34	26	19	10
Transport Equipment industries (incl steel ship-yards)	277	45	88	81	28	15	9	11
Manufacture of professional, scientific, measuring and controlling instruments	127	17	28	34	24	10	13	1
Total	2 429	395	741	702	284	167	99	41

Source: Industrial statistics 1984.

The big firms are in the mechanical engineering industry, electrical industry and transports manufacturing industry (shipyards); but for all sectors the smaller firms predominate.

If we examine the distribution of employees by firm-size, we find as a characteristic feature that about three-quarters are employed in firms with 50 or more employees.

Table 4.4
Number of employees, by firm-size. 1984

	Employed in firms with 6-49 pers	Employed in firms with more than 50 pers	Total employment
Iron and steel basic industries and foundries	1 026	5 026	6 052
Manufacture of metal products	10 978	22 496	33 474
Machinery industries	13 380	42 316	55 696
Electrical Equipment industries	4 039	19 854	23 893
Transport Equipment industries (incl steel ship-yards)	4 019	20 708	24 727
Manufacture of professional, scientific, measuring and controlling instruments	1 559	8 984	10 543
Total	35 001	119 384	154 385

Source: Industrial statistics 1984.

It is not possible directly to connect the statistical material in such a way that it shows whether there is a correlation between firm-size and the use of apprentices. However, a study from 1981 , carried out by the PUKKS-project [2] on the basis of a special computer run at

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[2] John Houman Sørensen at al. (1984).

DS (cf. Annex I, tables 6 and 7) shows that for smith apprentices and Part 2-EFG-students in engineering and other metal-using industry, apprenticeships and on-job training are abundant in the smaller firms with up to 50 employees, and that engine-fitter/mechanic apprenticeships and Part 2-EFG-students obtain training contracts on a large scale in firms with between 6 and 199 employees. In addition, the study shows that the EFG-proportion is highest in the big firms.

4.4. Engineering sector - elucidated by the organizations' views

4.4.1. Organs of trade self-management

By far the most important employers' organization is the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Organization (JA until the formation, in 1980, of the Association of Engineering and other metal-using firms in Denmark, SAM), with about 160 000 employees, of whom just under 10 000 are apprentices + Part 2-EFG-students. JA is composed of a large number of industry-organizations - the Motor Industry Employers' Association, for example, which trains large numbers of motor mechanics, which is a trade with training in engineering, but where the firms in many instances count as retail trade for the purposes of occupational statistics.

SAM was the organization which, during the collective bargaining in 1928, agreed to DSMF's proposal of an equal-representation apprentices committee to formulate training rules and inspection of apprentice training-places - which was implemented in the setting up of the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee in the following year. The inspection of in-firm training also came to embrace non-SAM-members and was important especially outside the traditional smithies and machine shops (cf. sub-section 2.4.); this can therefore be regarded as a common interest between SAM and DSMF in ensuring a supply of qualified skilled tradesmen for the sector.

In 1938, under the provisions of the 1937-law on the structure of commitees, the Enginerring Industry Apprentices Committee was changed into a joint trade committee (FFU) representing a total of 12 trades, so that on the workers' side it covered CO-Metal, but with double representation for the large, old smith and fitter-mechanic trades. In 1956 expansion to 32 trades took place with, among other features, stage-divisions and specialisms incorporated - including, for example, the 2-year training courses which are also discussed in sub-section 2.4.

From DSMF's side, interest in increasing the intake to the trade (the union) played a big role, of course; under the influence of the keener competition for jobs with the unskilled workers in the iron and steel industry, an agreement had been concluded in 1953 for acceptance of unskilled workers in the iron and steel industry, in so far as they did jobs which were considered to belong to

DSMF's occupational area. The sub-division of the apprenticed trades was intended to make it easier for the more specialized firms, or firms divided into sub-industries, to establish apprenticeships.

The common policy within the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee had hitherto been that a journeyman's certificate from any of the 12 training-'branches' into which engineering and other metal-using industry was sub-divided should give access to employment anywhere within the engineering sector.

Up to 1956 there was agreement that this thinking in terms of broad trade training should be abandoned in favour of the 32 'branches' or trade-categories. Besides enabling more training posts to be created, it has, of course, created opportunities for specialization by skilled workers, which might be necessary to enable them to compete with upgraded workers and subsequently with semi-skilled workers who were only trained - on the job, or otherwise - in very sharply-defined specialisms.

The smaller work-place - and the industry-mobility for skilled workers which this could provide - must have been regarded by SAM and DSMF as a minor problem in a situation with a surplus of labour and competition for jobs, and with the prospect of some very large youth-years from about 1960 onwards as the basis for apprentice-recruitment.

However, sub-division on the training-side had no repercussions upon the structure of the trade union-side; on the contrary, most of the smaller engineering and other trades in CO-Metal have in the course of time been integrated in the present Danish Engineering Workers' Union. In both the individual FU and in FFU, the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee, it is DM and JA, on the whole, who are the partners representing the two sides.

The Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee was originally financed only by the employers; but in 1946 SAM felt obliged to ask DSMF to contribute towards the financing of the secretariat. DSMF was very willing to do so, but thought that the secretariat had to be installed at a neutral address, since the union had not had any influence upon manning (the secretariat-staff were SAM-employees).

One can thus see that, up to this time, DSMF accepted that SAM's active, leading role in co-operation with equal representation was necessary and beneficial for DSMF's own interests in securing proper conditions of training in engineering and other metal-using firms. However, the desire to play a more direct role in the arrangement of the work on the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee must have been satisfied in some other way, because DSMf agreed to pay, while the secretariat was installed with SAM. A very strong tradition has since evolved, for the existence of common interests between the two sides in ensuring a high standard and regular technical updating of training courses in the engineering sector - with the importance of the training courses for better productivity, competitiveness and employment as the unifying formula. Effective achievement of this aim forms the basis of the situation today.

'Uddannelseshuset' (Training House), Nørre Voldgade 14, in Copenhagen, accommodates all of the bodies with equal representation, namely the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee (ML), the Vocational Training Committee (EUU) for Engineering, the Engineering Industry Continued Training Committee (ME), the Committee for Engineering and other metal-using industry (MB), and also secretariats for other training committees, works officials, etc. The secretariat-staff in the first three of the equal-representation bodies are employed by JA and DM, and the heads of the secretariats are chosen jointly by the social partners.

The top floor of 'Training House' accommodates JA's training policy-department. 'Training House' has a total staff complement of about 40, of whom 10 are employees of JA itself. The secretariat is financed partly through the authority to collect a subscription from all employers - not only JA-members - who use the iron and steel industry's journeyman testing-system, which brings in about 7-8 million kroner, and partly through coverage of the remaining expenses with about 2 million from JA and DM, respectively, while DS makes a smaller contribution.

The predominance, in practice, of JA in training-work is not considered objectionable by DM since, owing to its technical expertise and direct contact with firms, JA is best-placed to produce information concerning new qualification-requirements, etc., upon which the trade union can then use its influence as an equal-representation partner to impress the answer given on training policy. The Danish Engineering Workers' Union ('Metal') also tries to be active in all phases of the process, of course; but first and foremost, there is felt to be a community of interest regarding the needs of engineering and other metal-using industry, with the partners rallying round in defence of 'trade self-management'.

In connection with EUU, DfE will be responsible for operating the secretariat. The intentions expressed in the 1977-EFG-Law, to combine the EUU-secretariats under the DfE, were soon checked on applicaation by ML to the Ministry of Education, and DfE had to adapt itself to the administration of EUU-Metal taking place at Nørre Voldgade 24. Thus two of the staff in the EUU-secretariat are on the payroll of the Ministry of Education, one being employed by DfE and the other by JA and DM jointly.

'Trade self-management' can thus be said to point the separation from DfE; there is no desire to be subjected to the training policy-formulas of others - but there is no desire, either, to impute to others the solutions of the Engineering sector.

Thus, it is typical also that ML should be retained internally as the most important body, with the status of a Joint Trade Committee and association with the greater formal autonomy of the 1956-law for trade self-management than the EFG-law. All cases are first dealt with in ML - as engineering industry's 'own' - and then in EUU, with almost the same membership, but with status in accordance with the EFG-law and the 1982-joint notice (fællesbekendtgørelse').

'Internally', however, co-operation between JA and Dansk Metal seems to be very close. The principle of equal representation applies everywhere, and when, in practice, it is not fulfilled everywhere, this is due to the fact that DM does not always have sufficient staff, or considers equal representation in study groups to be unimportant where technical understanding is the more important consideration.

In addition to the secretariat's know-how and the reports which the Engineering Industry Apprentices Committee itself gathers concerning requirements for new and revised training-courses - including those from members of trade committees (FK) at the technical schools - a system of so-called 'reference groups' exists, which keeps track of industry- or trade-groups, or particular areas of technology, in order to pick up indications of new training-requirements. Regular replacement of members is aimed at, and JA-representatives in principle express a desire not to be permanently in office. Members should preferably be straight from firms. In 1986, the reference groups were:

1) Land transport
2) Heating water and sanitation (1 from the Danish Master Smiths' Association, DS)
3) Low-current engineering
4) High-current engineering
5) Smithing and welding technology (2 from DS)
6) Shipyard training
7) On- and off-shore engineering
8) Machine and tool technology
9) Glassfibre-reinforced polyester
10) Aeronautical engineering.

Apart from the above-mentioned DS-representatives, the remainder of the employers' side should be JA-members. The secretariat for the reference groups is from both ML, MB and ME. The 'reference groups' are a joint system for compiling new qualification-requirements; thus, views as to whether an attempt should be made to cover them via basic training or continued training for skilled workers - or through semi-skilled worker-training via the branch committee, on which KAD and SiD are workers' representatives - can be co-ordinated by 'Training House'.

In sub-section 3.4.1. a more detailed account is given of how 'trade self-management' within the engineering sector sees its own role in the formulation of new training rules which are not confined to stating qualification-requirements and aims for new training courses, but also try to include TP-work, i.e. the more detailed content and arrangement of training.

From DfE's-side, JA's recommendations are considered to be brief and to the point - but to have no reference to the investigatory work or to the documentation which must, of course, form the basis of the recommendations. They are described as competent; but only the final result, and not interim results, is submitted.

Thus, rooted opposition seems to exist to any interference by politicians or officials, in what is regarded as the preserves of 'trade self-management'.

4.4.2. 'Trade self-management' and the Government

The attitude towards 'trade self-management' in the 1930's was determined tactically; but the tactical solution proved to be so good that it was upgraded to strategy.

In the '30s, when one of the various attempts from the Labour movement's side to achieve control of the quality of apprentice training was a demand for compulsory journeymen's tests, SAM decided on 13.12.1934 [3] that journeymen's representatives should be brought in as 'inspecting masters', "because, with the present Government (the Social-Democratic/Social-Liberal majority), a worse arrangement for master craftsmen is conceivable".

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[3] Morten Lassen (1981, stencil)

The 1937-law was accordingly the enforced creed which the Social Democrats professed, a belief in 'trade self-management' - which, however, they found difficult to put through Parliament.

The 1972-EFG-experimental-law did not actually interfere with trade selv-management; the engineering sector had itself been the first to carry out experiments. Ideologically, however, there was grumbling in the ranks, as the EFG-experiment spread; dissatisfaction with the common subjects and with the shorter time spent by apprentices with firms under the EFG-system. When the parliamentary bill for a definitive change-over to EFG was tabled in 1977, disputes over demarcation began to develop between Parliament, 'trade self-management' and the individual masters expressing their interests.

It was with great hesitation, therefore, that DA accepted the agreement with LO for a change-over over 5 years - and, among other things, the agreement was amended to the effect that the individual FU's, and not one EUU for a whole sector, would be able to decide on the change-over. Parliament's rejection of the 'change-over clause' did not produce any strong protests from the employers' side.

The background to this is probably that DA most likely considered it a loss, not to be able to carry through the financial saving and improved quality of instruction at vocational schools which would have resulted from the change-over to a single-line system. But the political and organizational losses from quarrelling with masters in DA's own band of members and with the main organization of the Master Builders' Association and also non-organized master craftsmen, were probably considered excessive. This will be discussed further in sub-section 4.6. on the building trades.

For JA, the absence of any statutory period specified for the change-over to EFG has hardly been much of problem, either. JA could still make its own decision, of course, and in the iron and steel industry it would not be the individual trades in random sequence that would change over to EFG. A plan could be formulated to include new content of training within a standard system, co-ordinated in ML. On 16 April 1980 an agreement on this was concluded between JA, DS and DM. In the engineering sector, however, there are problems also with the small employers, many of whom were opponents of EFG and who train substantial proportions of the total number of apprentices.

A good proportion of them belong to the Danish Master Smiths' Association. It had about 3 000 members, employed about 20 000 and had between 6 and 7 000 apprentices in 1982. Most of the firms were quite small, with 2-3 employees, located in rural areas and working on farm implements, irrigation installations, building work, alternative energy-installations, biogas plant, etc.; approx. 1 800 of them had something to do with heating, water and sanitation-work. However, the variety of the work and the need for apprentices to be able to work entirely on their own caused the chairman of DS to decide that basic training - particularly on a boarding school-basis - was a great advantage for DS-apprentices; but the problem was that the Part 2-training period was too short. In general, DS is in favour of long, interrelated trade training-courses, and considers the semi-skilled worker courses to be poor. Opposing the extension of Part 2 and retention of the traditional trade of smith as separate branches of training, DS was advocating abolition of master apprenticeship as early as in 1977. But it was considered unfair that 'the big ones' should come and snap up the apprentices - 70% of whom come from the small firms, according to DS's estimate - without the large firms helping to pay for the training. DS did not want any actual grant-in-aid, but a substantial increase of AER, so that contractors, etc., would also contribute.

Opposition thus exists, which also manifests itself in, for example, the fact that DS is not a member of DA and is not intending to become a member. It is not the connection with collective bargaining that is most important, DS itself states; it is the difference between interests in the legislation. In this connection, DS co-ordinates through the Joint Council of Master Craftsmen's Organizations (HO - Byggefagenes Mesterforening) it policy with the main organization of the Master Builders' Association and CT, Central Association of Master Carpenters.

In the matter of changing over to a unified system, however, DS could certainly reach agreement with JA and Dansk Metal - as was apparent in the agreement in April 1980 and in the bargaining which followed - concerning a longer training-period, among other topics. The DS's 6-7 000 apprentices were a powerful argument here.

However, despite the approval in principle of both JA and DS, the change-over to EFG has not taken place very quickly. In 1984 it had reached 37.9% of the total number of apprentices in on-job training (cf. sub-section 4.3). Practical support for the organizations' policy from member-firms has yet to come.

In a way, the organizations can be said to be taking a longer view, which causes them to be ahead of their base and this might be an accompanying cost of remaining so much within general objectives of social policy, that policy-makers' wants 'trade self-management' to be maintained. On the other hand, the organizations are also using 'trade self-management' to serve the interests of the majority of on-job training-firms, which favour apprenticeship.

From about 1972-73, therefore, extensive updating of apprenticeship was started, with expansion of workshop classes for apprentices at Technical School - so that it could be stated in 1977 that the content of fitter/mechanic-studies was the same in EFG and apprenticeship. What remained then as differences was, on the whole, only the duration of in-firm training and the actual basis-year. The change-over to EFG alone in different subjects in the '70s and '80s was therefore also accompanied by lengthening of the training-peiod (about 6 months, but with wide variations).

The Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association ('Jernet') thus also has ready for the current reform-situation a new model, easy to revise, for the Part-2 system. It will utilize experiences gained in the 'Nineties engineering worker'-experiment (cf. p.191) for the formulation of broader modules. There must be a higher degree of co-ordination of school attendances, whereas specialization in trades can take place in the in-firm part of training and through the final school attendance and school-leaving examinations. In general, greater importance must be attached to the in-firm part, for which a draft-scheme for regular guidance has already been negotiated. For most branches of study, Part 2 will be of about 3 years' duration, and 4 years for 'the more technological' branches. The idea is to have a system with two forms of entry, with one entry through basic training, divided into one 'occupation-introducing' and one 'occupation-preparing' 6-months-period. The other form of entry will be by the young persons acquiring occupation-introducing experience for themselves on the labour market, and then taking part in the second half - the occupation-preparing part - of the basis-year, which can be compared with the preliminary schooling-part of apprenticeship, depending upon one's attitude. [4]

The EFG-apprenticeship-debate has thus been handled extremely unideologically in 'Jernet', and the influence of the politicians has been avoided as far as possible, so that the matters could be decided within 'trade self-management'. Assurance of high quality and of the necessary grants for the technical schools appears to be the aim which results in 'trade self-management' eventually revising the training courses in line with the trends of parliamentary training policy, enabling goodwill to be maintained.

Whereas Parliament's rejection of the labour-market main organisations' recommendation of 1977 concerning the change-over to EFG over a 5-year period (cf. sub-section 2.13.) was thus not much of a problem for 'trade self-management', the reactions were particularly sharp when Parliament passed on 19 February 1982 a resolution on equal status for apprenticeship and EFG. On this, Bertel

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[4] Metal EUU's response of 2 December 1986 on the official inquiry, submitted to the law-preparation committee (the Nordskov-Nielsen committee).

Haarder, the present Minister of Education, stated in the daily press: "It is certainly the biggest victory that I have experienced during the years that I have been in Parliament". [5]

The chairman of the Craft Industry Council stated that what Bertal Haarder had said would cause "dismay and great uproar", and that "the Craft Industry Council has nothing against equal status for apprenticeship and EFG-training; but we must emphasize as strongly as possible that it would be disastrous, if Parliament were to deprive the trade committees of the opportunity to approve unified training, incorporating the best from apprenticeship and EFG". (our underscoring).

That Parliament should preserve freedom of action for the trade committees is emphasized here as the most important requirement.

The tone was even sharper from the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association, from which deputy director Ove Schandorff made the following official comments to the daily press: "The resolution is hostile to firms and to master craftsmen, and is an attack upon trade self-management".

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[5] This and the following quotations are given from Morten Lassen: 'Småborgerskab og mesterlære' (The lower middle classes and apprenticeship), p.59 ff, 'Gløder' No.2, AUC 1982.

'Interference' - also from a majority outside (against) the Social Democratic Party in parliament - was thus clearly rejected. The preseration of trade self-management is a firmly-rooted strategy; vocational training thrives best without interference by Parliament and government officials. In JA and DM they talk bitterly, therefore, about promises given by the Minister of Education in 1980 about 'Jernet' having af free hand to formulate an examination system - which DfE was then said to have tride to evade. Also tugs-of-war over common subjects, for which 'Jernet' was originally allowed to use only 25% of the total hours of instruction, as against 40% in other subjects.

4.4.3. The main views of JA and DM om basic training

The attitude of rejection towards 'political interference' across what are recognized as the boundaries of the Government's powers, is associated with close, active co-operation between JA and DM in being actively controlling, co-ordinating and initiative-taking in matters of training within the iron and steel industry, including questions of technology and industrial policy.

DM is in general a 'modernizer', which as a trade union supports the spread of new technology as much as possible and helps to ensure that, to operate the new equipment, skilled workers are trained who will join the ranks of the union.

In Denmark the FAST-forecast of 1982 (which predicted, on the basis of the situation in British production, a large increase in the technician-category and a large fall in the employment of skilled tradesmen and, in particular, unskilled workers) has been widely cited in the debate. It is used in the Steffen Møller-committee's report [6] as an argument in favour of great expansion of technician- and engineer-training. It has been supported by 'Dansk Metal' - which on first consideration seems paradoxical since, according to FAST, DM's band of members should be reduced and members of organizations such as the 'Teknisk Landsforbund' should take over the lion's share of the jobs.

The interpretation of FAST is selective, however; the support should, rather, be understood as help with the reallocaiton of public funds for training for the engineering and industrial sector in general.

On the other hand, the DM-representatives state that the FAST-forecast is too indifferent regarding predictions of falling employment of skiled workers - and should there

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6 Report No.1074, Copenhagen 1986, 'Ingeniør- og tekniker-uddannelsernes fremtid' (The future of engineer- and technician-training).

ultimately be anything in it, then the skilled members of DM are certainly more to be compared with British technicians!

Two innovations could otherwise be interpreted as attempts to cover a combination of skilled tradesman- and technician-qualifications, namely:

The recently-started 5-year computer mechnician-training course and the experimental course "engineering worker of the '90s, which is a 5½-year course founded upon EFG-basic training. The experiment is being carried out in co-operation with a number of selected firms as places of on-job training, and it is backed financially by private funds and by the Iron and Steel Industry Training Fund (JU, set up in conjunction with the collective agreements and with joint management). Work is also in progress on a media technician-training scheme.

These new training courses - the '90s'-one, in particular - could indicate a general policy directed towards making engineering apprentice-training courses of long duration, in order to achieve both breadth and depth, flexibility at the work-place, thorough training in handling new technology, etc. - i.e. aiming at the skilled tradesman + technician-combination over a broad front, as the probable qualification-requirement of the future.

It is probably the right policy to have invested in skilled engineering training of this kind. However, it is not a general strategy that all future skilled engineering workers should obtain 'broad and deep' training, which would be suitable for eliminating the differences between technicians and skilled tradesmen - providing, instead, only one category in the job structure. One can conceive stages of graduation - 2 years after the basic training, for example - such that there would be various categories of skilled workers at the work-places. The training policy is thus more one of aiming at greater equality in opportunities for upward mobility, including having the route to technician-training via skilled worker-training. This view is shared by the rest of the trade union movement, about whose wishes for the formulation of the 'technician's law' there is a popular saying that they can be summed up in a change of the title - namely to the "law concerning the continued training of skilled workers".

The strategy of the Danish Engineering workers' Union must otherwise be said primarily to be aiming to continue to cover a wide field of work with training - and thereby also to cover with collective agreements and to retain the intake of members to the union. As part of this, there must also be great activity regarding new tendencies in qualification-development - and such activity is taking place.

However, other unions are also interested, of course, in acquiring a share in the field of expansion, i.e. areas of work bordering upon technician qualificaitons. The engineering workers' union had disputes earlier with the electricians' union over this (electro mechanic jobs,etc.) and the Plumbers' Union (welding and piping, offshore, natural gas, etc.). The three unions have now established the co-called 'Technician Syndicate' ('Teknikerkartellet') with training - expecially continued training - as its main preoccupation.

Both JA-firms and DM have very definite interests in the system being suitable for determining new requirements - but in a perspective very much defined by the labour market-sector. The apparent unity and centralization through ML are hardly real.

Whereas the ML-1929-tradition meant - or so it was believed, at any rate - that 'outsiders' in relation to 'proper engineering work' were compelled to secure a broad occupational qualification for the whole industry, such a breadth now seems to be assumed as a matter of course.

"No matter in what trade you are trained, you will learn everywhere to be a skilled engineering worker", is how the statement from JA puts it. The very large nember of motor mechanics who are trained, relative to the number who remain in the trade, is not a problem - they find a place as skilled workers somewhere else, possibly after attending a continued training course.

It seems as if the main interest is recuritment to the metal working industries in general - obtaining an intake of young persons as large as possible - with less importance attached to securing specific qualification-requirements; not in the sense of technical skill, at any rate, but certainly as motivational and attitudinal qualifications.

This can be illustrated with the following assessments from JA's side concerning the general supply of skilled and unskilled labour. In order to secure an adequate supply, the training courses must be a reasonable relationship between time spent and quality. But the quality-requirement varies. "If we get an intake of about 8 000 youths, then all of the on-job training places will be taken; if we are to use only 5 000, then requirements are imposed regarding on-job training places, rotation between jobfunctions, tighter job descriptions or composite agreements, to regulate training. The large-scale recruitment is thus preferable, from JA's standpoint; but it must be ensured in any circumstances that there is a core of soundly-trained engineering workers. "In the iron and steel industry there will always be a need for a category of semi-skilled workers. The skilled tradesmen are a fairly stable work-force, numerically speaking. The semi-skilled worker, who is an adult worker, must be able to take over, be able to carry out a number of the simpler operations; thus, they have to be brought in when there is a shortage of skilled labour. The semi-skilled workers are therefore regarded as a necessary and useful work-force. In many firms they form nearly one-half of the manpower; but in others - expecially those with 50-100 employees - all are required preferably to be skilled workers".

The main concern can thus be said to be the overall view for the industry, of having a sufficiently large supply of 'good' apprentices to maintain the core of skilled labour. This view does not demand 'tough' regulation in relation to the individual sectors and trade commitees.

Apprentice training in engineering includes som common basic qualification and basic socialization. What typifies a Danish skilled tradesman seems to be that he is inquisitive, intererested in this work, likes trying new things - and is confident that what he can do, he can also certainly use in order to get to understand a new machine. This applies typically to those who do not have very much of the characteristics of the urban worker's life style, i.e. skilled engineering workers trained in the smaller firms in rural areas. Contrasting with this is the attitude of the hourly-paid worker in its purest form, where the worker is instrumental in relation to his work, does what he is told to do and in the way that yields the highest pay - and is afraid of, and hostile towards, change, until it has been proved that this can also increase his income.

Such assessments of important characteristics of Danish skilled workers were included in a discussion concerning the so-called JUUST-project, financed by the Iron and

Steel Industry Training Fund (JU), in which needs and possibilities for staff training are studied in relation to the firms' capacity for change, both technologically and in work organization. This project falls within extension of other studies financed by JA, which can be called studies of qualification-requirements.

The remarks above concerning the 'value' of the socializing effects of trade training must not, therefore, in any way be understood as if there were no interest in updating the content and structure of the training.

The actual process of technical and occupational qualification still rests, however, to a great extent upon the technical schools - which the social partners quite clearly think are lagging behind, technologically.

Apart from the lack of any State-organized qualification research - which 'Jernet' is itself trying to remedy - JU-funds have been spent on experiments with continued training of technical school teachers in CAD, CI, FMS, etc., where it was felt that the State-run continued training of teachers at SEL was not enough. In addition, they have for a number of years helped to finance ECDU - a centre for the development of computerized educational aids for use in the vocational schools - which, however, is co-financed also by DfE.

Latent dissatisfaction thus exists with the lack of funds from the government to keep apprentice training technologically up to date. From the wider aspect, there is anxiety about falling standards at technical schools, due to the much bigger intakes in the last few years. The TS-part is an important medium for maintaining a good standard generally. Consideration of the allocation-aspect - high intake and high intra-industry-mobility - lies behind the desire to maintain a 'national standard' (which does not necessarily imply only one type of authority). Decentralization would require authority in decentralized quarters - which does not exist (nor is DfE thought to have authority regarding occupational content); JA - and DM - are therefore opposed to decentralization. Both sides also express the view that JA and DM are together arriving at good solutions; the problems come when the individual industries (main sectors) are not allowed to choose between different systems, and demands for a unified system are often the consequence of Parliament being involved.

The 'politicization' of vocational training is regarded by the JA-training policy-makers altogether as a problem.

The attitude - expressed most forcibly by JA-sources, but also by DM - can be summarized as follows: The politicians do more harm than good, because they lack understanding of the matters involved. Their right to be involved in questions of training is respected, of course - as when demanding savings of 100m kroner, for example - but the social partners themselves wish to have a say in the decision as to where, because they understand where it would do least damage. The content of training courses is a technical and practical question, on which the two partners can certainly disagree as to the means, but agree on the ends - namely higher productivity and increased employment. Outside interference here is undesirable and if, nevertheless, intervention takes place, it is because other objectives are being pursued by DfE or the Ministry of Education.

The view is that 'trade self-management' in the iron and steel industry solves its problems well - and that, for example, it is a sign of strength and an expression of objectivity in the co-operation that a proposal agreed between the social partners was submitted on 2 December 1986 for the broad outlines of a new law concerning vocational training. It could show the way, of course, just like the iron and steel industry had taken an active, leading part in 1929, 1937 and 1956. However, others do not need to conform to the same model - if only the iron and steel industry can arrange its affairs as it wishes. Politicians and government officials, in particular, must thus respect the organizations' domain. It is thus a question not so much of neo-corporatism - where the labour-market organizations are integrated with the machinery of government - as of *genuine corporatism*, with the *organizations regarding themselves as holders of legitimate power over vocational training, with boundaries fixed by the Government*, but *with no intervention by the Government within these boundaries*.

The attitude can be illustrated in the case of JA with the following excerpt from an interview with deputy director Ove Schandorff, in which the labour-market organizations are regarded as the firms' elected representatives:

> "Co-operation between the organizations and the Ministry of Labour has, if anything, been strengthened, whereas in the Ministry of Education there is a greater tendency to by-pass the organizations.
>
> Ove Schandorff considers this a dangerous tendency, because only the organizations can ensure that all firms' interests in vocational training are heard".[7]

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[7] Quoted from 'Børsens Nyhedsmagasin' of 20.2.1987, p.20. It was emphasized subsequently that, by "the organizations", Ove Schandorff meant the equal-representation committees.

4.5. Use of training in the building and construction sector

4.5.1. Youth vocational training

In the building and construction sector, both master apprenticeship and EFG-training exist and are used. There are 20 different subjects in apprenticeship training and 17 subject areas in the EFG-part 2. Most of the subjects are common to both the apprenticeship- and the EFG-Part 2-branches.

In master apprenticeship, electricians, painters and carpenters are the largest trades, accounting for 68% of the total intake in 1984. In the EFG-area, there are likewise three trades which are important. Electricians, bricklayers and carpenters together represented in 1984 70% of the intake to EFG-Part 2-courses.

The predominant type of training in building and construction is the master apprenticeship and the EFG-training courses have spread very slowly. 27% of all approved and registered training contracts within manufacturing and craft industry-trades were concluded within the sector in 1984. Building and construction accounted for 18% of the EFG-Part 2-contracts. On the other hand, 33% of apprenticeship contracts were concluded within the sector.

The total intake of young persons with an apprenticeship- or on-job training-contract in building and construction increased, from 1977/78 to 1986, from 4 945 to 7 521. The number of EFG's doubled - from 976 in 77/78 to 1 818 in 1986, through steady growth throughout the period. In contrast with this, there has been relatively wide variation in the acceptance of apprentices. Around 1979/80 the intake was a good 5 000 annually, after which the number decreased, reaching about 3 300 in 1981/82. The intake then increased, numbering 5 703 in 1986.

Although apprentices predominate within the sector, the proportion of EFG's is rising. About one-quarter of all new training-contracts were made in 1986 as EFG-Part 2-contracts. At the end of the '70s the EFG-share was about 13%. Part of the increase is explained by the bricklayers' trade changing over completely to EFG, affecting the intake from 1982 onwards.

4.5.2. Labour market training

Semi-skilled worker training

Within semi-skilled worker training, there was an increase in the number of course-beginners from 8 225 in 1979 to 12 289 in 1985. This corresponds to the fact that the building and construction sector had a more or less constant proportion of the total number of course-beginners, between 13 and 15%. Relative to the number of employed unskilled workers in the sector, the number of course-beginners in 1980 represented 22.4%, and this rose to 33.6% in 1984.

Regarding the employment situation for those course participants who take semi-skilled worker-courses in the building and construction sector, the two most important categories are unskilled workers who are employed (before and after taking the course) and unemployed (both before and after). Together, they constitute 80%. In 1984 the unemployed represented 51.3%, as against 45.3% in 1985. For the employed, the opposite tendency applies; their proportion grew from 30.8% in 1984 to 34.3% in 1985.

Continued training of skilled workers

Continued training of skilled workers is little used in the sector. In 1984 the number of course-beginners represented only 4.6% of the total number of skilled workers in the sector and 4.3% of all course-beginners (numbering 2 689 in building and construction in 1985). Re-training is not used at all.

4.5.3. Employment in building and construction

Employment has been rising in the building and construction sector, if we consider the period from 1960 to 1984 as a whole, and the skilled workers-category has been the biggest throughout this period. Relative to the total number of employed salaried workers, skilled workers and unskilled workers in the work-force in 1984, building and construction represented 6.5%. Within these categories, the sector's share was highest in 1970, at 9.5%, after which there was a falling tendency until 1982, when it was 6.1%, nd from 1982 to 1984 there was a slight rise.

As can be seen from table 4.1, an increase in employment took place in the period 1965-70, from 122 717 to 175 945. This growth was distributed more or less evenly between salaried workers and skilled and unskilled workers; but in a way such that the salaried workers' share increased slightly and the skilled workers' decreased accordingly.

The apprentice intake to building and construction trades rose sharply at the beginning of the 1960's and reached an annual intake of 6 569 in 1965, after which the intake decreased to 5 012 in 1970.

Table 4.5

Trend of employment in building and construction

	Salaried employees	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Total employment	Apprentices and EFG-Part 2-practicants:		
					Accumulated population	Recruitment the last year	Percentage EFG of recruitment the last year
1984	23 243	71 975	36 546	131 764	14 248	5 177	27,1
1982	21 635	64 938	33 093	119 666	15 395	4 405	23,2
1980	25 940	82 841	50 464	159 245	18 949	5 871	14,7
1976	19 580	78 943	44 256	142 779	12 470	6 394	15,5
1970	15 499	87 504	72 942	175 945	-	5 012	-
1965	9 487	79 243	63 266	151 996	-	6 569	-
1960	5 667	66 235	50 821	122 717	-	4 019	-

Source: Register-based employment statistics (RAS) ultimo november 1984, supplemented by ATA-project-appendix 2 data.
For apprentices and EFG-Part 2-practicants, the source is Danmarks Statistik, Statistiske Efterretninger, which includes all apprentices and EFG-practicants in the building-and construction trades, i.e. included those learning in firms outside the building-and-construction sector.

Employment fell by about 33 000 in the period 1970-76. The number of employed unskilled workers, in particular, decreased - from 72 942 in 1970 to 44 256 - and the relative importance of the category declined. The unskilled accounted for almost all of the fall in employment; but there was also a sharp fall in the employment of apprentices in private and public construction (cf. table 4.6) - from 23 500 in 1970 to 15 731 in 1976. This decline in employment did not affect annual intake to apprentice- and EFG-Part 2-training, which increased to 6 394 in 1976.

During 1976-80, employment rose again; but without the large change in the relative sizes of the different categories. In this period, the number of apprentices and EFG-Part 2-students in building and construction-trades increased sharply from 12 470 in 1976 to 18 949 in 1980; with a modest increase in the proportion of EFG-Part 2, from 12.8% to 13.2%. Employment of apprentices within the sector rose slightly; but the annual intake was reduced.

In the period 1980-84, fluctuations in employment certainly took place; but there were no substantial relative shifts as between salaried workers, skilled workers and unskilled workers. On the apprentices- and EFG-side, numbers fell to 14 248 in 1984, while at the same time the EFG-share increased to 23%.

Within private and public building-and-construction, employment of apprentices fell to rather more than 13 000 in 1984, and the intake to the trades' apprentice and EFG-Part 2-training courses stood at 5 177 in 1984, with an increase throughout the period in the EFG-students' share of the total intake.

Table 4.6

Workers employed in private and public building-and-construction

	Skilled,* persons	Apprentices (incl EFG-2. part)	Unskilled persons	Total	Composition of workforce, in percentages Skilled persons	Apprentices	Unskilled persons
1984	79 512	13 333	40 479	133 324	59,6	10,0	30,4
1982	69 056	13 652	35 326	118 034	58,5	11,6	29,9
1980	75 718	16 971	47 099	139 788	54,2	12,1	33,7
1976	88 354	15 731	56 997	161 082	54,8	9,8	35,4
1970	88 480	23 518	72 500	184 498	48,0	12,7	39,3
1965	65 017	23 042	53 550	141 609	45,9	16,3	37,8

Source: Statistical Yearbook. * 'Skilled persons' includes masters, who take active part in the practical work.

It will be seen from tables 4.5 and 4.6 that, even though there was wide variation in employment in the period 1960-84, skilled workers constituted about one-half throughout this period. The relative shift thus took place (cf. table 4.5) only between salaried workers and unskilled workers, with a trebling of the proportion of salaried workers, while the unskilled workers' share fell by one-third.

Table 4.7

Percentage of apprentices to skilled workers in private and public building-and-construction

	1984	1982	1980	1976	1970	1965
Apprentices/ Skilled workers	16.8%	19.8%	22.4%	17.8%	26.5%	35.4%

Source: As table 4.6; own calculations.

If we consider the percentage allocation of employed workers in table 4.6, we find that apprentices constituted throughout the period a substantial part of the total employment, i.e. about 10% at least. The percentage of apprentices (see table 4.7) was high throughout the period 1965-84; although a general decrease took place, corresponding to the employment of 1 apprentice to every 3 skilled workers in 1965, as against 1 apprentice to every 6 in 1984.

Table 4.8

Skilled to unskilled workers-ratio in building and construction

	1960	1965	1970	1976	1980	1982	1984
Skilled/ unskilled workers	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.8	1.6	2.0	2.0

Source: Register-based manpower statistics 1984
and ATA-project, Annex 2

If we consider separately the relationship between employed skilled workers and unskilled workers in the building and construction-sector, we find that skilled workers became increasingly preponderant throughout the period, so that in 1984 there are about twice as many skilled as unskilled workers in the sector's employed manpower.

All the time the proportion of apprentices has been more than 17% to the building trades as a whole, for which a proportion of about 10-12% apprentices would be required to maintain a skilled work-force. Thus, for the sector as a whole there have been no problems with reproducing the skilled work-force - despite the high mobility, also out of the sector.

The allocation of employment within different parts of the building and construction-sector, and the position of apprentices in relation to this in 1984, can be seen from table 4.9.

Table 4.9

Allocation of employment 1984

	Number of employed in building and construction firms	Percentage employed in firms with more than 20 persons	Total number of skilled persons	Total number of apprentices	Percentage apprentices of skilled persons
Contractor Firms	34 050	73,7%	6 068	388	6,4%
Bricklayer Masters	17 608	31,1%	7 373	685	9,3%
Carpenter Masters and Housebuilding-Joiners Masters	26 012	29,0%	13 976	2 792	20,0%
Painting Masters	10 278	24,6%	5 523	965	17,5%
Gas, Water and Sanitary Installations Engineering Firms	16 981	32,9%	7 855	2 563	32,2%
Electric Installation Engineering Firms	16 354	35,4%	7 861	2 959	37,0%
Other Firms	6 533	24,3%	1 709	229	13,3%
Private building-and-construction, total	127 816	41,9%	50 365	10 581	20,8%
Public or public authorized/semipublic firms	13 913	-	3 809	188	4,9%
Total employment in the building-and-construction sector	141 729	-	54 174	10 769	20,0%

Kilde: Statistical Yearbok 1986.

Public and concessionary companies, with an apprentices-proportion of just under 5%, stand out clearly as a 'consumer area'; they have to employ skilled workers trained in other parts of the sector.

The same applies to contractors, which otherwise represents the bigger firms. It can be calculated from table 4.5 that the allocation for the work-force of the whole building and construction sector in 1984 was just under 18% salaried workers, just under 54% skilled workers and approx. 29% unskilled. The Contractors' Association, whose members employed a total of about 30 000 in 1985, has stated that the allocation by job categories was 4% administrative, 8% engineers, 8% technicians - totalling about 20% salaried workers, approx. 20% skilled workers and approx. 60% unskilled. It is a matter here of such a clear difference from the average for the sector, that it must have a considerable influence upon the training policy-interests of the Contractors' Association in relation to other employers in the building industry. On the one hand, the Contractors' Association is a 'consumer' of skilled workers from the other trades and trains apprentices on only a very limited scale; on the other, it has much larger interests in technician- and engineer-training and in semi-skilled worker-training than the other branches of the building trade.

Lastly, master masons have a number of apprentices which is slightly below 10% of the number of skilled workers and is therefore less than what is necessary for full reproduction of the skilled work-force in the trade. This has resulted in a special situation in training policy, which is discussed in more detail in sub-section 4.6.

For all other branches of the building trade, the number of apprentices is more than ample to satisfy the branch's own reproduction requirements. They are 'suppliers' of trained apprentices - most notably, electrical installation engineers, whose trained, skilled electricians have no difficulty in finding good employment in a large number of branches.

The private building and construction-sector - apart from contractors - is characterized by a preponderance of small firms with up to 20 employees. Around two-thirds of the work-force are employed in firms of this type. At the same time, it can be seen that in these types of firms there are many apprentices relative to the number of skilled workers. There are most apprentices relative to skilled workers with firms of heating, water and sanitation engineers and electrical installation engineers - areas which are important, regarding both the proportion of the total number of apprentices and the preponderance of small firms.

This tendency of smaller firms training more apprentices than larger firms is documented by Annex I, table 6.

It will be seen from this table that more than 60% of the apprentices in the building and construction-sector were employed in firms with fewer than 10 employees during the period 1974-80.

4.6 The building and construction-sector - elucidated from the standpoints of the labour market organizations

4.6.1. Fluid organization-boundaries on the employers' side

As mentioned in sub-section 4.2, DA-member-firms embrace about one-third of the number of apprentices and EFG-Part 2-students. The growth of EFG has been much slower; as recently as in 1980 just under 14% were EFG's, and the proportion reached approx. 23% in 1984.

The much greater persistence of master apprenticeship is connected, of course, with the preponderance of small firms in the building and construction-sector; but it is connected also with the situation in the organizations.

On the employees' side, the clear sub-division into trade unions according to background of training has already been mentioned. On the employers' side, a line of demarcation separates 'craft'-employers from 'industrial' employers - primarily the Contractors' Association ('Entreprenørforeningen'). All other industries appear as 'suppliers' of skilled workers to the Contractors' Association. We saw in sub-section 4.4 how the Danish Master Smiths' Association, also, mentioned the Contractors' Association as one of 'the big ones' which should pay more towards apprentice training.

Between the 'craft'-employers themselves, however, a dividing-line exists which has origins going back to the coming-into-force of the Law concerning freedom to trade ('naeringsfrihedsloven') in 1862. The old craftsmen's guilds in the towns became master craftsmen's associations and were involved in the formation of the Danish Employers' Association in 1896. Deeply mistrusting the town craftsmen's guild traditions and what they could lead to regarding vocational policy, the rural craftsmen formed their own associations, with a strong liberal tendency.

Thus, within DA, in relation to vocational training associated with the building and construction-sector, the following organizations exist:

The Contractors' Association ('Entreprenørforeningen')
Employers' Association for the Masons' Trade ('Murerfagets Arbejdsgiverforening')
Master Glaziers' Guild ('Glarmesterlauget')
Master Painters' Employers' Association ('Malermestrenes Arbejdsgiverforening')
Employers' Association for the Wood-working industries (Træets Arbejdsgiverforening')
Copenhagen Joiners' Guild ('Københavns Snedkerlaug')
Copenhagen Carpenters' Guild (Københavns Tomrerlaug, KT)
Central Association of Master Carpenters in Denmark ('Centralforeningen af Tømrermestre i Danmark', CT)

The question of mergers - also in relation to the master craftsmen's organizations (cf. below) - has been under consideration for some time.

Outside DA is HO ('Hovedorganisationen' - Central Organization) Building Trades Master Craftsmen's Association. HO is itself an employers' association and is the umbrella organization for local associations of master masons, carpenters and joiners. Its historical origin lies in the rural craftsmen; but also larger enterprises - like f.ex. HTH-elementkøkkenfabrikken (HTH systems-kitchen manufacturers), - are members. HO is a party to collective agreements with the building trade unions; but HO has a cheaper subscription and does not possess the same centralized powers as DA (Art.23 in the DA-laws) to monitor the pay-offers of member-firms in collective bargaining. The bulk of the 5 000 member-firms have 4-5 employees and together they have around 4 000 apprentices. Although unable to furnish the exact figures - because it kept no statistics of its own on this, but used DA-statistics - HO stated in 1981 that it had approximately one-half of all apprentices in the mason's trade and the joiner's trade, and rather more than one-half in the carpenter's trade.

We shall add that there are many non-organized master craftsmen. In the carpenter's trade, it is estimated that almost one-half of the firms are non-organized.

The Joiners' and Carpenters' Federation ('Snedker-Tømrerforbundet') does not keep any statistics of its own either;

but it estimated [8] the ranking of the places of employment of its apprentices was as follows: 1. HO-master craftsmen, 2. CT, 3. Non-organized, 4. KT. The two organizations in the DA: CT - which covers primarily firms of carpenters in the provincial towns and has about 1100 members, and KT, the Copenhagen guild with 100 member-firms, thus cover only a limited proportion of apprentice carpenters. Membership of one or the other does not follow exactly the geographical boundaries or accord with criteria of firm-size - even though HO has mainly the small firms as members, which regard themselves more as master craftsmen than as employers.

This means, in any circumstances, that DA has a duty to take account of these facts.

It is all the more necessary for the employers' side to take measures, since its counterpart - the skilled building unions - have strong traditions of their members being the best-paid and of adhering strictly to trade demarcations and pay scales.

At the same time, they have well-developed co-operation, embodied in the National Association of Building Trades ('Byggefagenes Landssammenslutning'), which embraces both the skilled unions in the building trades and the unskilled

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8 Morten Lassen (1981 - stencil - interview with former Federation-chairman Henry Hansen)

- which here means SiD's building and constructiongroup. However, the National Association of Building trade is active primarily with regard to questions of the working environment and only to a small extent with collective bargaining.

4.6.2. The importance of clear trade demarcations

When the combined Joiners' and Carpenters' Federation was formed in 1970 and the master glaziers were accepted as members in 1974, the masters believed that they had got rid of some of the trade demarcations. However, 4 committees were set up under the ST-Federation, for joiners and carpenters, glaziers and wood-patternmakers to engage in collective bargaining and to appoint members of the joint trade committee (FFU).

However, trade demarcations exist primarily in the fact that a given piece of work is priced or paid for in accordance with a pay scale which has been agreed by the trade under which the job is classified. More or less at the same time as the engineering metalworkers' union - i.e. in 1954 - the carpenters had opened their doors for workers to become members who were not trained carpenters, but could perform particular tasks listed in the pay scale for the carpenter's trade - and were paid on this scale.

Trade demarcations were therefore not a problem for the employers, understood to the effect that there would be a lack of persons - other building craftsmen, for example - to do the work. The problem was, rather, the higher pay that was demanded in any circumstances, also if unskilled workers were engaged.

However, maintenance of the pay scale-system as such can be ensured by the trade union only so long as there actually is a good supply of young workers to the trades. Situations with bigger shortages will make other trade unions more relevant bargaining-partners for the employers.

So long as the pay scales exist, the employers, for their part, must also be interested in keeping the intake of apprentices as high as possible. This interest is founded upon the fact that apprentices constitute a substantial proportion of the work-force of the smaller master-employers.

An outline has thus been given above of the most important parts of the social partners' constellation of interests in the building and construction-sector. They all point, however, towards the fact that no particular interest has ever been shown in EFG amongst the master craftsmen's organizations and the skilled trade unions.

They had no use for the EFG-basic training offer of a choice of deferred vocational training, general subjects and optional subjects, with an opportunity for study-qualification, in order to attract more young people to apprentice training; the intake of apprentices was ample. And the shorter period spent with the firm by EFG-trainees was a drawback in relation to master apprenticeship also.

The possibilities offered by the EFG-system for the skilled worker to obtain a knowledge of other building trades, to collaborate with them and arrange his work accordingly, did not encounter any great demand, either. Anyhow, in practice the demarcations were crossed in the small firms, work was arranged independently and the job was completed for a customer - including work of other trades, whenever necessary.

In any case, any talk of wanting to make way for regular, systematic crossing of boundaries between the big building trades via training was a pipe dream. Any desire for more flexible arrangement of work and utilization of new technology in the building trades had to be linked to, rather, modernization of the different big trades individually.

4.6.3. The bricklayer's trade - change-over to EFG and on-job training organized by 'trade-self-management'

In a single one of the building trades, the bricklayer's trade, the need for modernization was acute owing to difficulties with attracting a sufficient number of apprentices; at the same time, over fairly long periods also many of the smaller master craftsmen had very much the same work - as an effect of the spread of the turnkey contract (package deal)-system - so that apprentice training was difficult. The same applied to those who earned a living from short orders during rapid fluctuations in the level of building activity.

With the start of EFG-Part 2-training in August '73, it became possible to change this. The Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade found it necessary to secure training forall of the apprentices through a special course enabling all work disciplines to be sufficiently covered. On completion of the basic training, the contract between bricklayer-Part 2-EFG-apprentices and the Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade as employer was signed. Part 2 started with 18 weeks' schooling, followed by 32 weeks' of 'Elevbyg', in which 4-6 students (trainees) plus 1 teacher were loaned out as a gang to firms of bricklayers or contractors. In addition to the qualificatory benefits, this created finance for full trainee-pay for the EFG-students during the whole of their time at school. In the final year of the total of about 2½ years spent on EFG-Part 2, the student was attached to a private master craftsman on the basis of a special agreement between the Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade and the master. If the master did not have more work, the Joint Committee secured a new place - i.e. the training was guaranteed.

The scheme ran parallel with master apprenticeship in the bricklayer's trade. However, the 'Elevbyg'-experiment ran into financial difficulties, one of the reasons being that the 1977 AER-law could not provide a refund up to the full pay during the bricklayer-EFG-trainee's long schooling, and another was that the Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade came to pay the wages of trainees who had worked as a gang for building firms that had gone bankrupt. The situation was very complicated; but the employers' side on the Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade got into a situation the outcome of which was a decision to change over to using only the EFG-system as a training basis in the bricklaying trade.

The Elevbyg-scheme has continued, with some changes - primarily of a financial nature. Otherwise, the bricklayer's trade provides guarantees for on-job training places for up to 400 Part 2-students in the intake. This is possible because, among other reasons, the Bricklayers' Craft Guild in Copenhagen, which has now joined the Employers' Association for the Bricklaying Trade, can officially 'requisition training-places' under their laws - i.e. order a master craftsman to accept an apprentice. The Central Organization (HO) of the Building Trades Master Craftsmen's Association does not have statutory authority for this, but does it in practice, if necessary.

Historically, the bricklayer-employers were among the first to pay the expenses of apprentices, with levied funds, in order to ensure sufficient intake to the trade. Reference is made to such a scheme in the Proceedings of Parliament 1924/25; but it is probably older than this.

Also during the period from 1973 up to the present day, the attitude within the trade has been characterized by co-operation in ensuring adequate intake and quality in training. The intake in 1984 was 275 Part 2-EFG-students, when the bricklayers' union estimated that an intake of 850 was necessary in order to maintain status and numbers in the trade. There was a feeling of being under pressure 'from below' by the SiD-members and 'from above' by technicians on the building sites.

4.6.4. The trades' dependence upon a clear training-profile

The trade unions are very interested in keeping their basic training - the master apprenticeship and the EFG-education up to date - but always keeping in mind the trade tradition - and they have involved themselves deeply in continued training.

The very high mobility in the building trades - rapid changing of building sites and movement of contractors - emphasizes the need for a qualification that has country-wide recognition. The skilled 'core of labour' does not remain within a firm, but is a common core of labour for the industry.

In the struggle between the unions for new areas of work, handling of new materials, etc., continued training (efteruddannelse, EU) is an important tool.

The carpenters have acquired double glazing-work for themselves, through EU, and through various courses they have achieved re-arrangement of the pay scales for concreting and shuttering-work, as between SiD, the ST-Union and the Bricklayers' Union (Murerforbundet).

In contrast with the Iron and Steel Industry Employers' Association ('Jernet'), the carpenters have had the secretariats divided in the carpenter's trade. The craft guild ('lauget') has the secretariat for FFU - because, in the words of an ST-trade-union-spokesman:"They have the apprentices. We have the continued training-secretariat, because we have the journeymen."

The emphasis upon 'trade self-management' is, if anything, stronger here. The EUU-building- and construction (comittee) was located in Herning and remained there also after 1977, when the DfE wanted the EUU-secretariats to be centralized. This was arranged by some of the trend-setting Social Democratic union-chairmen in the building trades. However, there is also strong opposition to DA (Danish Employers' Association)-and LO (Confederation of Danish Trade Unions)-viewpoints being put forward in FFU; the thinking behind this being that decisions must be made on the basis of the respective trades' own particular circumstances. EUU's co-ordinating role is also very weak. DfE communicates directly with the respective trade committees, not via EUU.

Control at county-level or decentralized control is firmly rejected: "It is unacceptable. There will be not one, but many kinds of carpenters."

4.6.5. Incorporating EFG under the old trades' conditions

It was clear, therefore, when planning of the EFG-basis-year for building and construction began, that it would result in a qualification in each of the major trades which would match the standard for master apprentices after completion of their preliminary schooling. The last 12 weeks of the basic training were used for this purpose in the first version of the EFG-basis-year; otherwise, the content of the basis-year was characterized by the 'least common denominator'-principle.

This contributed towards the difficulty of setting up new Part 2-training courses, in which SiD, in particular, was interested. There was not much prospect in merely incorporating disciplines of semi-skilled worker-courses on top of the basic training (cf. sub-section 3.3.5., p.120).

The restructuring of basic training and new combinations of job functions at the work places would be able to upset the old division into unskilled labourer and skilled tradesman.

In 1977 an attempt to carry out this new sub-division of the basis-year was made by the EUU-secretariat, the basis used being the material or work-piece of the job, and not the old disciplines. The proposal was based upon a grouping in four main groups of work tasks, namely: Unfinished building, wood, installation and finish.

In practice, the old trades can easily be fitted into these last three; but the first one combined bricklayers' and semi-skilled workers' jobs. It was received with violent opposition from the Bricklayers' Union, whose chairman sarcastically spoke of the proposal as "the concrete box".

Instead, the basic training was changed so that the last 20 weeks - compared with 12 previously - led directly to the Part 2-disciplines for the individual trades.

With clearly-defined incorporation of the individual trades in both Part 2-training and within EFG-basis-year, there was no direct opposition to EFG within the organizations or in the FU-, FFU-, EEU-system; but the speed of the change depended upon the willingness of the master craftsmen to accept EFG-students or master apprentices. To force something through which could cause the masters to reduce the number of apprentices was an idea just as foreign to the trade unions as to the employers' and master craftsmen's organizations. But all were in favour of the abolition of system-competition between EFG and master apprenticeship; they wanted a unified system "combining the best from EFG and apprenticeship".

This meant broadly a dual-intake-model: directly into in-firm training for 'the decided youngsters', followed by expanded and improved preliminary schooling, and starting on the EFG basis year for the uncertain ones, who in the last 20 weeks would have chosen their way to the parallel to 'apprentices preliminary school'. And thereafter a completely unified process of alternance between school and firm. (I.e. really the same as Metal EUU's proposal of 2.12.1986 - cf. sub-section 4.4.1).

A compulsory change-over to EFG would have caused protests all round, of course. DA's decision to include a transition period of 5 years in the parliamentary bill concerning the winding-up of master apprenticeship and the change-over to EFG was therefore received with serious misgivings - and it was important that the trade committees should have the right of decision on the change-over to the unified system, and not EUU. DA's policy was as far as possible not to allow EUU to get themselves involved in FU's work - also in those areas where the 1977-EFG-law actually authorized it and assigned co-ordinating and initiative-taking functions to EUU.

4.6.6. The strength of trade self-management: Rooted in the employment structure

Thus, in building and construction the most important influence has a very low centre of gravity - i.e. located in the trade committees, which for their part are orientated especially towards the individual firms.

In view of this location of the main weight in 'trade self-management', SiD's hopes for the EFG-reform quite obviously had to be frustrated.

SiD has one member of the building-and-construction EUU, and is represented in a single FU, for the pavior's trade, and one FFU, for the pavior's trade, the stone dresser's trade and the plasterer's trade - but it is by virtue of the fact that the Pavior's Union has become a member of SiD.

But even if SiD has not found any sympathy for its training-interests in EUU, the Contractors' Association's appraisal of the situation is that SiD respects the trade demarcations, also when this gets in the way of its own employment-interests. SiD was happy to lose an action brought by the Contractors' Association under trade-law - on the grounds that the placing of concrete roofing tiles was not reserved for the bricklayer's trade, but could also be assigned to SiD-members as a job function - and thereby be required to do the work. SiD had not acted disloyally in relation to colleagues in the National Association of Building Trades, but had nevertheless acquired a new field of employment.

After the attempts to get regular EFG Part 2-training courses set up in extension of EFG-basis-year for building and construction had failed, and setting up lines of study purely for the semi-skilled worker-courses had become unattractive owing to the reduced finance available for students - especially after the abolition of basis-year pay in 1976 - SiD looked around for fresh opportunities to establish longer courses.

Amid a lot of internal disagreement, accord was reached on 2 years of semi-skilled worker-training for the contracting-sector, consisting of a 27-week course at a semi-skilled worker school and the remaining approx. 1½ years in a training-firm attached to either the Contractors' Association, the Central Association of Master Bricklayers in Denmark or the Building Trades' National Co-operative Association.

'Contractor training' has not developed on any large scale, however. In 1986 a total of 183 were under training. In 5 other sectors - outside the building trades - similar agreements upon two-years training contracts have been made; but they are on an even smaller scale.

Otherwise, from SiD's side it is considered too difficult to use equal representation where it exists - in branch committees of the semi-skilled worker-system and in the associated reference groups, for example. The employers appear with personnel from the firms, whereas it is difficult for SiD-shop stewards from the shop floor to get time off for such work. Usually, SiD has to be represented by the persons elected from the departments, paid on the basis of full-time work - or consultants and officials from the central bureau of the union.

On the whole, there is agreement in the branch committees concerning the content of subjects in the courses, which is regarded as neutral and of common interest: "There can be snags in it, of course; but there are no actual disputes." On the other hand, disputes do exist over the length of the courses. The employers' side (DA) would like them to be as short and as job-orientated as possible. Similarly, DA wishes to have instruction in common subjects limited.

SiD attaches a lot of importance to retaining the many 'shortened basic training-courses' in the building and construction-sector, as an entry for young persons and for those changing their occupation. Manufacturing industry, on the other hand, is characterized more by specialist courses: "Semi-skilled worker-training is many things."

In the trade basic courses within building and construction, however, SiD has not succeeded in getting anyone through; there was too much preponderance of the craft trades in EUU.

Thus, whereas SiD has not succeeded in ensuring for its members, to any very great extent, youth training with a labour market-value equivalent to that obtained by skilled workers through building-and-construction-EFG, the system is still functioning and comes up to the expectations of the skilled unions - owing primarily to the low position of the power centre within the system, in the individual trade committees. It also meets the expectations of the employers' and master craftsmen's organizations regarding skilled labour. Not a lot of importance is attached here to the quite specific trade qualifications. "Almost regardless of trade qualifications, a skilled worker can organize his work far better himself," the chairman of the carpenter's trade FFU and head of the Copenhagen Carpenters' Craft Guild (KT) stated in 1981. The chairman of the Central Association of Master Carpenters (CT) pointed out that skilled workers are flexible, they carry out all of the firm's job functions directly and are widely qualified, regardless of trade, and "they are able to organize the work themselves to a great extent" - whereas unskilled workers required supervision and instruction.

To sum up, 'trade self-management' appears to be very strongly rooted in the building and construction-sector and to be very disinclined to accept intervention, which could be regarded as restrictions upon the firms' use of apprentices.

The nature of the sector and of the work points to the need for qualifications of work organization and social qualifications, and personality development which are difficult to achieve without socialization in the firms - in the opinion of the social partners.

However, the bricklayers' trade's 'Elevbyg'-programme is also explicitly justified on the grounds that it is important to learn to work in the 'gang' or team, as a form of organization. There is also increasing recognition of the fact that technical and occupational qualifications require support from the public training system; but in this sphere also, strong influence from the trade committees upon the instruction given is expected, in the basic training system. Thus, in the carpenter's trade they rely upon their own textbooks-committee, consisting of specialist teachers from the technical schools, to supervise the proposals for changes in technical school(TS)-instruction. Also in combined training the trade unions play an active, co-determining role in relation to their trade and its function in production in the building and construction-sector, as part of their defence of their own employment-interests.

4.7. Training in the banks - the social partners' role and the public vocational training system

With regard to the social partners' role in basic vocational training and also continuing training within the banking sector, the most important labour market-organizations are the Danish Banks' Negotiating Organization (Danske Bankers Forhandlingsorganisation, DBF) on the employers' side, and the National Association of Danish Bank Employees (Danske Bankfunktionærers Landsforening, DBL) on the employees' side. The social partners regard actual bank training as an internal matter for the sector, in which a common interest exists, within the sector, in solving the problem of securing the best possible training of staff, on a sufficiently large scale. Agreements are therefore concluded between the two labour market-organizations, both on basic training for occupational qualification and on further training.

4.7.1. Banks' use of training

If we examine the sector's use of officially-registered vocational training courses, we find that both EFG-training and master apprenticeship have been used in the sector. The official statistics are incomplete, however, and since 1981 EFG-bank training has not been shown separately. From this time onwards, therefore, it has no longer been possible to use the official statistics to elucidate the use of training in the banking sector, and the sector's (DBF's) own statistical material is, therefore, the only material that can be used.

4.7.2. Recruitment and personel policy of the banks

Trainee recruitment and background

Up to the mid-1970's the banking sector recruited mainly (about 60%) trainees who had passed the commerce diploma-examination ('handelseksamen', Hx) and the commercial clerk-examination ('handelsmedhjælpereksamen', Hmx) (cf. table 4.10). However, the courses for these examinations were discontinued in 1978, and the nature of the trainee recruitment-pattern within the sector therefore had to change.

Table 4.10
Prior schooling for newly-recruited trainees (%ages)

	HHX	'Student examination'	HF[1] ex.	EFG basis year	Hx and Hmx	Other Examinations	Total number
1975	2,7	19.3	.	4,7	68,5	4,8	441
1976	6,6	26,8	.	3,2	61.7	1,7	809
1977	7,4	25,4	.	7,1	56,9	3,2	916
1978	11,3	25,5	.	13,8	45,3 [2]	4,1	1 189
1979	12,9	31,1	4,6	43,6	7,0	0,8	1 580
1980	20,5	33,6	4,2	39,3	2,3	0,1	1 367
1981	29,9	35,1	4,8	27,9	1,9	0,3	689
1982	47,9	35,2	2,5	12,7	1,1	0,6	474
1983	51,7	33,9	2,6	11,4	0,2	0,1	551
1984	58,1	29,6	2,3	8,7	0,2	1,1	1 230
1985	51,9	35,0	4,3	8,4	0,3	0,5	1 376
1986	46,7	35,8	4,8	12,1	0,2	0,4	1 778

Source: DBF.

[1] Until 1979, HF (Higher Preparatory Examination) was counted under the column 'other examinations'

[2] New entries to Hx and Hmx was stopped 1978 - persons starting a bank education later than that year have passed their Hx or Hmx examination 1978 or earlier.

The proportion of trainees with an upper secondary school-leaving certificate, 'studentereksamen' (or a higher preparatory examination-certificate, HF) was around 20% in the mid-1970's and has since formed a steadily-increasing category, to about 40% in 1986. The quite large changes that have taken place are those from the recruitment of trainees with the commerce diploma and with the commercial clerk-certificate, to recruitment from the EFG-system and then to trainees with the higher commerce diploma ('Højere Handelseksamen', HHX). Up to the end of the 1970's, HHX-trainees formed only an infinitesimal proportion, and it was then that the EFG-courses started in earnest. For a few years - 1979-81 - EFG was a very important channel for recruitment. The proportion of EFG-trainees was a good 43% in 1979, but fell to about 28% in 1981. In the same period, the proportion of trainees with a higher commerce diploma (HHX) grew to more or less the same extent, to about 30% in 1981. In the years that followed there was a further decrease in the EFG-proportion, to around 10% - which is also the level now. At the same time, there was explosive growth in HHX, to a good 50%. The present situation is that just under one-half of the trainees are recruited from HHX, a good 40% from holders of the upper secondary school-leaving certificate and HF-certificate, and about 12% from the EFG-basis-year.

If we examine the quantitative trainee-intake over the whole period from 1975 to 1986, we find a big expansion from 441 newly-recruited trainees in 1975 to 1 778 in 1986. However, it can be pointed out that the level at the beginning of the 1970's lay between 1 100 and 1 300, and that the 'appropriate' level is now estimated to lie at between 1 500 and 1 600 new recruits annually.

The tendencies in the pattern of bank trainee recruitment at present seem to be as follows:

- stabilization of the proportion holding the higher preparatory examination certificate (HF) and the upper secondary school-leaving certificate ('studentereksamen')
- a slightly decreasing proportion with the higher commerce diploma (HHX)
- a slightly increasing proportion with EFG-basis-year training

'Internal' bank training: content, structure and scope

Within the banking sector, bank clerk-training is the only basic training which confers a vocational qualification. It is a 2-year trainee-course, of which the theoretical part - the Banking School's part 1 - is carried out with one 8-hour day of instruction per week, for 30 weeks. The bank clerk-course is usually followed by the Banking School's part 2, which likewise extends over 30 weeks, but with 4 hours one evening per week. In continuation of this, it is possible to take the 2-year banking course of further training, and in addition there are a number of continuing training-opportunities within special banking functions. The forms of training mentioned here are run at the sectoral level; but continuing training is established also in the individual banks and bank groups.

When a trainee is engaged in a bank, a contract or training-agreement is made, in writing. It describes, among other things, pay and working conditions and also states the duration of the training period, and trainees are covered by the DBF-DBL-collective agreement on pay and working conditions for trainees and unpromoted members of staff. The agreement also embraces general training conditions.

Two forms of training agreements exist: one for trainees who enter into an agreement on EFG-Part 2-training in the bank, and another which is a training agreement under private law, regulated by a collective agreement. Differences in the length of the probationary period, for example, depend upon the training agreement. Trainees with an EFG-Part 2-agreement are covered by the normal rules for Part 2 of initial vocational training courses - including 3 months' probationary period. For trainees with a training agreement under private law, there is a 6-months mutual probation period. Pay for trainees is not the same for everyone, either; but the demarcation here is not on the training agreement, but on prior training. Trainees with HHX receive a good 7 300 kroner a year more in the first year than all of the other groups, and about 5 700 kroner more in the second year.

The Banking School's part 1 is compulsory for all trainees, and the instruction takes place at or is commissioned from the Commercial School. It consists of daytime instruction for one day per week and joint classes for all trainees, regardless of prior training and training agreement. Theoretical training ends with a written examination.

Instruction is given in Banking practice 1, especially on the banks' business with the private household (120 hours), Financial Calculations (60 hours) and Business and Society, concerning especially the financial markets (60 hours). Trainees with HHX can be granted exemption from Business and Society, if no EFG-training agreement has been concluded with the bank. In practice, this exemption-facility is not fully utilized, since instruction in the Banking School's part 2 is based upon the trainees having taken part 1, among other requirements.

With regard to financing of the theoretical part of bank clerk-training, the Government pays for trainees with an EFG-training agreement and the banks pay for the others. The banks alone pay all expenses connected with the final examination.

Practical training in the banks takes place in accordance with training rules agreed between the parties to the collective agreement. The rules are laid down in such detail that it is possible to see which subjects the trainee will study and the 'depth' to which they are to be studied, the object being to ensure breadth and quality, on the one hand, and enable co-ordination with theoretical instruction, on the other, so that the theoretical part can be followed up directly in the individual bank concerned. As part of the agreement on training rules for the practical instruction of bank trainees, a 'standard' checklist has been drawn up which makes recording and monitoring of training in the bank easier. It is considered advisable to have the course of training monitored for the individual trainees by one particular trained member of the staff - a training officer.

Sector-administered continued training

Most bank clerks take the Banking School's part 2. Instruction is given in Banking practice 2, especially 'Bank business with firms' and 'Banks in the economy' - both 60 hours each. Daytime and evening classes are held, 4 hours per week for 30 weeks, and classes are commissioned from the Commercial School. The Banking School's part 2 ends with a written examination in both subjects and is open to everyone who has taken the Banking School's part 1.

With a view to providing further instruction on the banks' activities and on banking, the 2-year further training course in banking is offered after the Banking School's part 2. Instruction is given in the subject areas of banking law, bank customers' finance and banking. Neither voluntary subjects nor optional subjects exist. The training is a combination of private study, correspondence courses and direct teaching (there are 13 instruction-days of 8 hours each over the two years). The correspondence courses are based upon written exercises, the time-limits for delivery of which must be observed. The 2-year further training course in banking has been completed when the examinations within the 3 subject-areas have been passed.

The 2-year training period has been fixed with a view to achieving the best possible occupational integration. Participants who hold part 1 of the commerce diploma (HD) can complete the course in 1 year.

In order to enable the trainee to keep up and update his knowledge, continued training-courses sub-divided by subjects have been established, to follow the 2-year course. The courses are of between 1 and 7 months' duration and take the form of private study, correspondence courses and direct teaching. There is no examination at the end of the courses.

With a view to enabling the trainee to extend his knowledge beyond the 2-year course, there are 10 types of add-on courses, all at the standard of HD-studies. The courses are taken by private study and group studies with teacher-participation. There is no final examination.

Besides the above-mentioned training schemes and courses, language courses are held in English and German (banking language). Here again, the forms of training are private study, correspondence courses and group studies with teacher-participation. There is no examination.

The employment-situation

As a result of the general expansion of the banking sector, there has also been big expansion of employment during the last few years. We shall mention especially here two factors that are central to the general employment situation within the sector.

The social partners have agreed on a training policy aimed at covering with training the whole of the occupational area specific to the sector, which should be understood to the effect that office clerks and edp-personnel are the only categories which the sector does not train itself. The training administered by the sector, supplemented by training in the individual banks and bank groups, is thus both directed towards enabling a career to be pursued with promotion towards management functions and also to giving emphasis to further special training directed towards special advisory service, etc. At the same time, we may point out that trainees can normally expect continued employment on completing their training.

To elucidate the trend of employment within the banking sector, DBF's manpower statistics are used, supplemented by material from DBL's membership statistics. DBL and DBF have agreed to have collective agreements within the sector. DBL has about 92% of the employees as members, and DBF has as members all Danish banks, some foreign banks, most of the co-operative banks, the service firms associated with the banks and the service firms common to the finance sector. (The only important bank outside the organization is Arbejdernes Landsbank, whose staff of about 1000 belong to HK.)

As can be seen from table 4.9, there has been a steady increase in employment over the last 10 years, from about 26 000 in 1975 to about 36 000 in 1986. The tendency seems to be continuing, and during the last couple of years the work-force has been growing by 1 500-2 000 annually.

Table 4.11
Employees in the banks

	Number of employed within membership of DBF:		
	Number of persons	Equivalent in full-time employment	Number of active members of the union, DBL
1975	26 170	24 075	24 091
1980	30 808	28 379	29 002
1981	31 387	28 847	30 440
1982	31 985	29 597	31 026
1983	31 685	29 309	31 089
1984	32 841	30 546	30 929
1985	34 139	31 897	31 543
1986	36 412	34 182	32 373

Source: DBF and DBL.
The number of persons excludes persons holding management posts and auxilliary personel, counting respectively appr. 500 and 3 000 in 1986.

An essential requirement for the growth of employment has been the recruitment of more trainees. It will be seen from table 4.12 that, with the exception of 1986, the new intake of trainees accounted for more than 50% of the total intake to the banking sector. The new recruits include a second major category of clerks taken on for the more routine work. The others, recruited from outside, are partly for the edp-sector and partly university graduates (e.g. in law), HD's, commerce graduates, etc., for special functions.

Table 4.12
Intake and outflow of personnel within the scope of DBF-membership

	Intake:			Outflow
	Trainees and apprentices	Others	Total	
1980	1 367	947	2 314	1 451
1981	689	816	1 505	926
1982	474	759	1 233	635
1983	551	521	1 072	1 372
1984	1 230	1 175	2 406	1 250
1985	1 376	1 575	2 951	1 653
1986	1 778	2 557	4 335	2 062

Source: DBF

The outflow from the sphere covered by DBF is 5-6%; but at the beginning of the 1970's it was as high as 8-9%. At that time, employees were moving over to the public sector- because pay was higher there. At the present time, other parts of the financial sector - firms of auditors and insurance companies, for example - are attracting bank personnel, primarily within the 25-30 age-group.

Just as there has been a general growth in employment, increasing employment of women has taken place - in both numbers and in their proportion of total employment. The women's share has been growing steadily, and in 1975 women numbered more than one-half (50.8%) of the DBL-membership. In 1983, women accounted for 53.9%. 15% of the employees in the sector work part-time. Of these, approx. 98% are women, most of whom have taken the Banking School's part 1 and part 2 courses.

Although there is equal distribution between the sexes in both trainee-recruitment and further training, including the 2-year further training course in banking, women within the sector (or a portion of them) appear to be distinctly less career-orientated than the men. Except for part-time work, the women are promoted-staff to a lesser extent than men.

4.7.3. The banks and vocational training

The public vocational training system embraces in principle the usual training courses in the banking sector, as in other sectors. Thus, both types of trainee-training exist - namely EFG and master apprenticeship - and the vocational training activities that have been taking place under the Continued Training Committee for the Commerce and Clerical Sector could in principle have been used by the banking sector; the management model does not differ here from other vocational areas, either. However, only EFG-training is used within the sphere of DBF's organization and, as something quite new, a continued training-committee has been set up especially for the finance sector - the Continued Training Committee for the Finance Sectors ('Finanssektorernes Efteruddannelsesudvalg', FEU).

The banking sector and EFG-training

The vocational Committee for the Banking Sector deals with tasks concerning the content and aims of EFG-training and also gives guidelines for on-the-job training and for the approval of on-job training places. The Committee has an advisory function in relation to the Vocational Training Council for the Commerce and Clerical Sector, which in principle has a right of recommendation to the Ministry or Minister of Education. As for other sectors, the Vocational Training Council is the Ministry's/Minister's 'supreme' reviewing and advisory body.

However, certain special circumstances affect the formal structure. The sector has never been covered by the contractual obligation under the Law concerning apprentices ('lærlingeloven'). According to DBF, the sector made inquiries on several occasions, but did not receive an official reply until 1923 - to the effect that the sector was not covered. Ever since the passing of the 1956-law, a question has been circulating (it is not clear who raised the matter, or under what authority it was raised) concerning the contractual obligation. It was not a question of 'automatic' exemption, and even though the matter has been taken up under several ministers, it has not been settled, and the matter is now regarded as shelved.

When the commerce diploma-examination and the commercial clerk-examination were abolished in 1978, the sector was to change the pattern of recruitment for trainees. The social partners had agreed from the start to the experiment for initial vocational training courses, with a view to establishing an EFG-Part 2-training course for the banking sector. This would enable some of the trainees to be recruited from the EFG-basis year, and enable the training of bank clerks to be carried out under the vocational training system.

Negotiations were carried out for a long time on the planning of a separate Part 2-EFG-training scheme for the banking sector. Within the sector, the social partners were agreed on aims, content, form, structure, etc.; but on a number of points there were disagreements, relating to both the advisory bodies and the Ministry. The labour-market organizations within the sector could not accede to the declarations of intent which were general for EFG-training when the EFG-law was passed in 1977. Moreover, differences of opinion existed as to the scope of occupational coverage of the training. The principal disagreements concerned the following points:

- the actual organization of instruction
- portions of the content of the theoretical part of the training
- arrangement of examinations
- the possibility of all bank trainees - including non-EFG's - being able to pursue the same theoretical training.

Regarding the actual form of instruction, the general model for Part 2-EFG-instruction in the HK-sector was and still is a modular system with at least two weeks' schooling, i.e. teaching by topics. However, the organizations within the sector were interested in the teaching being spread over the whole course of training in the trainee's second year, with 1 day of instruction per week. This form of instruction would facilitate follow-up of the theoretical instruction in the practical training in the bank, and it would not be possible to obtain qualified teachers for two week-modules, since the banks' personnel could not be released for instruction for so long at a time.

The content of the theoretical training had previously been laid down in collective or ordinary agreements (up to 1981 as the '1-Year Banking School') between the social partners, and importance was attached to retaining the sector-specific content. The social partners wished at the same time to keep the final trainee-examination, with a view to further training within the sector. From the side of both the Ministry and the Vocational Training-Council and -Committee came ideas regarding content, to make the training sufficiently wide in scope to cover large parts of the financial sector. The introduction of examinations on completion of EFG-training would be a departure from the general rules.

The sector wanted to have a system established whereby all bank trainees could have the same theoretical instruction, i.e. the trainees could join the same class, regardless of prior training and regardless of whatever training agreement they might have made with the bank. Besides the pedagogic implications and content/occupational implications that this might have, there would also be the question of a departure from the general EFG-rules on this point.

During the years in which negotiations were in progress, the banks' recruitment of new trainees (cf. sub-section 4.7.1.) decreased and completed HK-EFG basic training did not become the replacement for the commerce diploma examination or the commercial clerk-examination. Only in the years immediately following the discontinuance of these training courses (i.e. in 1979, 1980 and 1981) was EFG-basic training of great importance as a channel of recruitment. A constantly-increasing proportion of new trainees came with the HHX-examination, and the proportion of trainees with HF and the upper secondary school-leaving certificate became steady at 35-40%.

Thus, the negotiations resulted in the establishment for the banking sector of a 1-year experimental scheme under EFG-Part 2-rules, with effect from 1 August 1983. The scheme involved approval of the form of instruction, joint study and - a little later - also an examination; but the latter took place outside the experimental scheme and was administered, held and financed by the banks.

Naturally enough, the sector's own representatives had supported the scheme in the various councils and committees. On the basis of the doubts that had been expressed generally regarding the experimental scheme, by both the Vocational Training-Council and -Committee and the Ministry, when the scheme was implemented hopes were expressed that the banks would accept more trainees and that most of them would be EFG's. In addition, the trade committee was to be registered in accordance with the rules in force, enabling the management, etc., of training to take place according to the same management model as for other sectors.

The arguments against the experimental scheme had been that to depart from the general rules could in the longer term involve risk of a 'contagious' effect within other sectors and hence of undermining the EFG-system. This was applicable to the form of instruction and to the final examination. Moreover, there were departures from the pedagogic principles for teaching and for the organization and management of the training. In connection with the granting of approval, the advisory bodies therefore recommended evaluation of the scheme after the first year, regarding occupational, pedagogic and organizational aspects.

The situation regarding approval of the experimental scheme was, firstly, that the trainee-intake was falling - from 1 580 in 1979 to 474 in 1982 - combined with a decreasing proportion of EFG's and, secondly, that the time coincided with the drive to obtain more on-job training places for EFG-Part 2-training.

With the introduction of the experimental scheme in 1983, there was a sharp rise in the trainee-intake, from 474 in 1982 to 1 230 in 1984. Within the same period, the proportion of EFG-trainees felle from 12.7% to 8.7%.

In the summer of 1984 the Minister of Education approved an extension of the experimental scheme, with effect up to 1987 - but not without contionuing reservations. In particular, there was dissatisfaction with the low proportion of trainees from the EFG-basis-year. The Vocational Training-Council and -Committee subsequently took formal note of this approval, but continued to have the earlier doubts.

In 1985 and 1986 the number of newly-recruited trainees continued to grow - to 1 778 in 1986. The proportion of EFG-trainees increased from 8.4% in 1985 to 12.1% in 1986.

In January 1987 the scheme was again extended by 3 years, and there is stille dissatisfaction with the low EFG-percentage - shared, incidentally, by DBL.

Management, planning and administration of in-bank training

It is typical of the banking sector that agreements on general matters and questions of principle in the field of training should also be concluded between DBL and DBF through collective agreements. Planning, administration and management of training courses take place on this basis within the sector.

Besides basic training, the Banking School's Part 2-courses and the 2-year further training course in banking are covered by agreements. Another characteristic feature is that there is only daytime instruction during the trainee-period, whereas all further training takes place to a considerable extent out of working-hours (evening classes and correspondence courses). In the case of the Banking Scholl's Part 2-course, this is not regarded as a part of basic training; but it is taken by the majority of bank clerks and immediately confers an increase in pay. In addition, it is common practice for banks to invite their clerks to take both the Banking School's Part 2-course and the further training course in banking and for attendance at these courses to be included for the banks' assessment of staff promotion or first appointments. Further training in the banks is not closely bound up with career advancement; but importance is attached to initiatives in this sphere also.

Continued training

The activities in the sphere of continued training so far have been characterized by the sector being responsible for planning, administration, execution and finance. The further training-activities are aimed at enabling bank clerks who have taken the 2-year further training course in banking to update and keep up their knowledge within specific subject areas within the sector, and also at further continued training from this level. DBL has not under sectoral administration. The individual banks and bank groups also set up supplementary in-bank continued training-courses.

With the passing of the new labour market-law in 1985, however, the way was made clear for puyblic (part-) financing of continued training-activities, bhrough AUD. In the Commerce and Clerical-sector, HK and DA alone provided the finance within the sector. The training activities administered by HKU have never had the interest of the banks.

In 1986 the social partners in the financial sector set up a vocational continued training committe (FEU) covering the sphere of banks, savings banks, insurance and mortgage lending. In March 1987 the Skilled Workers' Continued Training Committee approved the financial sector as a sector entitled to grants-in-aid, with FEU responsible for setting up and carrying out continued training-courses within the financial sector.

In content, the courses will also be for personnel (assistants, clerks, security officers, etc.) who have not taken part in further training within or outside the sector. For example, general introductory courses will be offered for the financial sector, and also courses for updating basic training within the different financial areas.

4.7.4. The social partners' role in vocational training

The public vocational training system - or, more correctly, the EFG-system - forms the framework for basic training in the banking sector. The structure and system of managemetn of bank clerk-training therefore also come under the same legislation as for other EFG-training. With the experimental scheme, however, an exemption has been achieved which places the social partners even more centrally - if that is possible - within planning, management and administration than in other vocational areas.

There is nothing special about the fact that the social partners within the sector have concluded an agreement on both the theoretical and the practical training of bank clerks. On the other hand, it may seem remarkable that the banks are trying to establish or maintain a position under the general vocational training system. Firstly, relatively few trainees are recruited through the EFG-system, and the public sector's financial contribution is therefore modest in relation to the banks' total training expenses. Secondly, no public authorities could oppose basic training started by the banks themselves - and in practice this is how it works already. The explanation of this may be that the banks want a basis of recruitment as broad as possible, and that the trainee-intake is too small to form the basis of a completely separate schooling system. Moreover, the DBL sees an interest in maintaining (and increasing) the EFG-trainees' proportion of the intake to bank clerk-training. Finally, the EFG-reform opened the way to the social partners being able - thorugh their active collaboration - to influence EFG-training in a direction in which the greatest possible attention was given to the sector's interests.

The bank-example shows that completely autonomous 'trade self-management' is also possible in Denmark - namely, outside the official system and without the Government being involved in designing the training systems. This possibility has existed for a long time already in law. Thus, Art.2, para.6, of the 1956-Law concerning apprentices states that exemption can be granted from the general obligation to draw up a contract "if the practical and theoretical training is arranged in a way which is completely satisfactory according to the circumstances".

Now, exemption from this rule is only a problem when recruiting persons under 18 years of age. The formula for recruiting bank trainees with HHX, the uppper secondary school-leaving certificate or the HF-certificate - who are normally over 28 and cannot eneter into Part 2-EFG-on-job training contracts - is therefore in practice a free choice for DBF and DBL.

In reality, however, the banks have never had any use for any 'socialization' of their training requirements.

In the past, the numbers of personnel leaving their posts when trained have not been such that the sector has not been able to defray the training expenses. With the relatively well defined labour market, combined with a personnel policy based upon advancement from below as the basic channel of recruitment to higher postes, it has been possible to arrange both basic training and further training within the sector and within the firms. Owing to the steady growth in the number of employees in the sector as a whole, there have always been real opportunities also for the employees in the prospect of advancement through the hierarchy of posts and pay, if the employee is prepared to make an effort with training.

On the basis of considerations of corporate finance, it is clear, therefore, that the banks prefer to recruit HHX's and young people holding 'a student examination'. There is not much sense in either recruiting EFG-Part 2-trainees, or in adapting Part 2-training to HK-EFG-Part 2 in general, regarding subject-sequence, etc., or in changing the timing in the alternance-process - and no sense at all in any incorporation in a broader EFG-Part 2-course in which banks, insurance companies, savings banks and credit institutions are included. This breadth will merely increase the risk of the young persons leaving when they have become 'valuable members of staff'.

The bank-example is thus certainly not typical for the Danish vocational training system - but this points indirectly to a fundamental requirement for the system otherwise, i.e. widespread interest in ensuring that the qualifications can be used and in ensuring the mobility of the work-force in occupational market sectors, on both the employers' side and the trade unions' side.

5. The social partners' opinion of the training system

The main labour-market organizations played a minor role in the review of the sector-examples in section 4.

DA has to take into consideration the significance of the master craftsmen's organizations and non-organized employers within apprentice training.

In the trade union movement there is general agreement that LO must not intervene in questions of vocational training at the sector- and union-levels, which are regarded as more of a technical, occupational nature and are rarely a matter of dispute.

The most important role is played in the trade committees by the individual trade unions and their employer-counterparts at sector-level; but they are still part of an overall management system for vocational training, for which LO and DA are very important. An attempt will therefore be made to gather the opinions of 'trade self-management' that are held at the level of the main organizations.

5.1. Protection of trade union interests

On the LO-side the 'nation-wide recognized qualifications' are considered to be a very good thing in EFG- and apprentice-training. They make labour market-mobility possible on the employee's terms; a skilled worker-qualification is generally saleable. The LO-side are keen supporters of the alternance training ('sandwich-course')-principle; it also enables in-firm training to be monitored.

In-firm training should take place also after a hypothetical change-over to skilled worker-training based purely upon vocational school - which is known in the trade union movement from contacts and study visits in Sweden. However, the monitoring of in-firm training or job training for the young persons would not be possible if the young first received scholastic training, after which only the firms were responsible for the completion of training to fully-qualified skilled worker-status. Apprentice training on the alternance training-principle results - through the contractual obligation and the stipulation and monitoring, by the FU's, of compliance with training rules - in the trade unions acquiring influence upon the whole training to skilled worker and being able to ensure high quality of the training.

There is thus strong support for the social partners managing vocational training. But 'trade self-management' has its limitations also - namely, that it can embrace only those things concerning which common interests exist and where it is therefore possible to reach a compromise with the employers' side. As soon as there is movement away from the 'neutral technical-practical' questions of content, there is risk of confrontation.

Training objectives of a general and policy-making nature are therefore excluded by 'trade self-management'. They are a hazard to agreement and co-operation and can cause confrontation, which can cause the system to collapse. If these objectives are to be adhered to, a parliamentary, political input or contribution by the main organizations is required, which can conflict with the interests of individual unions or associations in maintaining close co-operation within the sector. Thus, in the course of events concerning EFG, LO has not had much support from the individual trade unions in safeguarding the position of common subjects, nor in its view that EUU should play a leading role in any reorganization of Part 2-training so that all sectors could be covered with skilled worker-training courses.

Among the LO-unions, opinions are divided concerning the growth of EFG. SiD is sharply critical of the lack of ability to go further than to the old skilled trades - which for their part are satisfied that a change-over from master apprenticeship to EFG does not appear to threaten their positions. Criticism of EUU for being ineffective is common to both sides, but has diametrically-opposed bases, in that the skilled worker-unions regard the EUU's as at best superfluous and at worst harmful, whereas the SiD-side considers them to be necessary for the reorganization of training, but has stated that, in their present form, they are unusable for this purpose.

In general, however, the skilled unions have grounds for satisfaction with the system - for them, 'trade self-management' means that the employers must bargain with them on more or less all questions of training, and together the social partners are in a strong position in relation to DfE.

On the LO-side the attitude towards the AMU-system is generally favourable because, through being open, in principle, to both the unemployed and the employed, the system opens the way both for the jobless to find a job, and for those already with a job to obtain qualifications which make it more possible to change jobs. The AMU-system is criticized more for not having enough resources and for the fact that admission is no longer so open, but tends to be reserved for the employed. We shall return to this in section 6.

5.2 Protection of interests on the employers' side

On the DA-side - which does not include the banks, of course - the opinion held of the Danish alternance training system is also favourable. The criticism of EUU is certainly shared, to the effect that the decision-making power should preferably remain at the FU-level, because it is closest to the firms, which in relation to FU both give indications of the conditions for having apprentices in the firms, and can report new qualification requirements. The attitudes seem to be mostly pragmatic, however, to the effect that what is most important is a combination of qualitative and quantitative considerations, and that the evaluation in practice depends upon the general state of economic activity, in both senses - namely, upon the volume of employment in general and upon tendencies in the young persons' choice of training. If too many youngsters choose the upper secondary school, the vocational training must be improved in quality and be made more attractive - not necessarily over a broad front, however; but EFG in order to attract new trainee-categories, and apprenticeship for those who have already decided in favour of training in a trade.

Even though simplicity and coherence in the training will normally be advocated, a diversified, widely-ramified system has its advantages from the standpoint of recruitment.

Despite the quite general praise for alternance training-courses - also as by far the most desirable basis for further technical and commercial training - HTX and HHX are found to be excellent supplements to the existing pattern of training. It is not considered a problem that the all-round expansion of EFG-basic training beyond any increase in the intake to the actual alternance training-courses, master apprenticeship and EFG-Part 2, should have resulted in even more comprehensive development of the more scholastic vocational training; on the contrary, part of the increase in the intake of young persons for training courses is going directly into private business rather than to the upper secondary school. When we find that, in addition, the approach to free admission to the EFG-basis-year means, in DA's opinion, that the term 'residual group' is itself unacceptable because something resembling free choice of youth training has been established, then it is obvious that DA must be thought to regard favourably the main features of the system as a whole.

As mentioned in sub-sections 4.4 and 4.6, the product of apprentice training, the skilled tradesman, is viewed favourably by the employers' side. The qualifications of the skilled worker provide good flexibility in relation to both the introduction of new technology and changes in the organization of work. The nature of trade demarcation-problems is not - as believed by the ministries' economists, thinking only in terms of supply and demand - such that they would result in serious bottleneck-problems and monopoly prices of skilled labour in situations of shortage.

What is more important is an opinion shared by the social partners, namely that both the desire and the ability to re-organize both basic training and continued training in accordance with the new labour market requirements are particularly strong.

If the ability to re-organize and modernize is not very satisfactory in some cases, in the opinion of the social partners the reason for this usually lies with the Government. Thus, the problems of continued training in keeping up with technological development are due to, among other factors, the unsettled question between the AMU-Directorate and DfE concerning the financing of procurement of equipment, according to the social partners.

There is strong, general support on both the LO-side and the DA-side for 'trade self-management' as an overriding principle - despite certain reservations from SiD. Both sides think that any problems that may exist within vocational and labour market-training are due more to lack of sympathy from the policy-making authorities for the organizations and trade self-management (cf. quotation of Ove Schandorff's statements at the end of sub-section 4.4.3.).

6. Current trends of development

The features of vocational and AMU-training systems which were pointed out in section 5 as viewed favourably by the social partners, are not new. They have existed at least since the passing of the EFG-law in 1977, and for the AMU-training-side the scope of continued training of skilled workers had the same coverage for the target group as semi-skilled worker-training courses - and this also means from the mid-70's.

6.1 Change-over to a unified system replacing master apprenticeship and EFG - a necessity for public finance?

A new tendency which is appearing is that, under the pressure of the financial crisis, the splitting between EFG-Part 2-training and apprentice training is becoming a problem, which must be tackled and solved by changing over to a unified system. The pressure of finance also originates from the 'free admission to the EFG-basis-year'-policy which has governed the planning of EFG-capacity the '80s (cf. sub-section 3.1.4.).

This policy has been supported by the social partners in EUR, and it has supported the 'turning' of the young people from the upper secondary school-courses, to increase the intake of young persons to the private labour market. However, the change-over to vocationally-orientated courses following the EFG-basis-year has not been able to keep pace, and the basic training courses require considerable resources of finance and teaching staff at the vocational schools, with an annual intake of about 40 000 students who are to have a full year's schooling. Reducing the 'student-year's consumption' could therefore release resources which could be used partly to improve the quality of the EFG-Part 2-courses and partly to cover the additional expenditure on schooling, if the intake hitherto via apprentice training were to be incorporated in a unified system with a shorter basis-year - or with a 'basis-year' with a half-year- and a full year-variant.

Besides the terms of reference for the 'Nordskov-Nielsen-committee', these considerations of training-finance can be regarded as one of the most important determinants of the probable trend within the sphere of basic training.

Thus, in place of the earlier efforts to achieve equal status between the EFG-system and the apprenticeship-system, the Minister of Education has called for proposals for a 'unified system', and sound economic arguments and also political arguments therefore exist that the 'parallel system' will be discontinued within the next few years.

The form assumed by a unified system is therefore of more interest than the question as to whether it will come.

From DA's side, the first consideration in the work to reform the law has been a desire to make the in-firm part of the training more important and to strengthen the trade committees. EUU should be replaced by liaison committees, set up and elected by and among the trade committees (FU) involved. At the same time, the in-firm part of alternance training is very strongly emphasized.

When it is added, on the DA's side, that for basic training they envisage a varied scheme with a 1-year basic training-course for the Commerce and Clerical sector and a 2-way scheme for the manufacturing and craft-industry sector, they are considering a system which has at least ten years behind it in the building and construction-sector and is certainly even older in the engineering and other metal-using industry-sector, but has acquired official status through the equal-representation EUU's recommendation of 2.12.1986. In the 2-way system, one way is for the apprentice to begin acquiring experience preparatory to choosing an occupation in the first half-year in industry. The same experience is acquired by those who go the second way, starting with 6 months at technical school. Then, in the second half-year, the two groups receive the same instruction at technical school preparing for the occupation, after which, in Part 2, the instruction is begun which actually provides an occupational qualification, in an on-job training-firm and at technical school. Owing to the resolution adopted in Metal EUU, Dansk Metal has really supported such a system in line with the situation regarding training-finance.

On the LO-side, the attitudes adopted do not support these prevailing trends. LO's official programme for the Nordskov-Nielsen-committee is to abolish the grouping of young persons in 4 categories of upper secondary school-trainees, vocational trainees within the upper secondary school-system, EFG-trainees and master apprentices, and the 'residual group'. All young persons who do not begin an upper secondary school training-course must take an alternance training-course. The 'residual group' and HHX/HTX are abolished through everyone having to take a course which provides a vocational qualification. Not the firms (as is thought by DA and JA), but technical schools and commercial schools are to play a bigger part in trade training. Last, but not least, LO's first suggestion is that a basis-year without any division into main areas should be introduced.

LO's proposal deals only with the basis-year, however, and says nothing binding about Part 2-training. With the extension of the basis-year to embrace all except upper secondary school students, and without the initial vocational qualification which the existing EFG-basic training represents, LO's proposal seems, therefore, to involve greatly increased expenditure. Its quality-improvements are not such as to tempt also the employers' side in 'trade self-management' to enter into compromise-discussions on the LO's proposal. If the proposal is to be submitted, it can therefore not be under the sponsorship of 'trade self-management', and the Social Democrat-group in Parliament have thus also submitted the main principles of LO's proposal as a proposal for parliamentary decision, where it had a cool reception from the other parties when it was tabled on 23 April 1987. All of the other parties recommended waiting for the results of the Nordskov-Nielsen committee's work of preparing legislation.

The tendency towards agreement on a '2-way model' for basic training in a unified system - which otherwise seemed very probable with the social partners' agreement in the engineering sector, by the resolution of 2 December 1986 - thus seems to be rather less certain, also because the reform of vocational training can become a platform-plank in the general elections which are to be held before the end of 1987.

With regard to the structure of Part 2, however, it is a fairly well-founded assertion to say that it is still a matter for the trade committees. The channels of admission can be changed, it is true; but actual occupational qualification remains under the control of 'trade self--management'. In sub-section 3.4. it is reported that criticism of this has been submitted by the Ministry of Finance's labour-market theoreticians, supplemented as appropriate from the Ministry of Labour, with the exception of the AMU-Directorate. But their emphasis upon short-sighted balancing of supply and demand implies a hostility towards the labour-market organizations such that it is doubtful whether there will be any political support for this. The PA-management group - with the exception of the administration department's representative - also rejected regional management models (cf. sub-section 3.4.3.3.).

It could, moreover, have been natural to expect revision of the training for teachers at the vocational schools; but there are no indications of this happening and it is not part of the public debate.

On the other hand, there are indications of interest in getting qualification-research established. There are proposals on this in both DA's and LO's preliminary proposals to the Nordskov-Nielsen-committee; but these point towards the idea of funds for qualification-research being administered under 'trade self-management'.The current trends of development are thus towards either 'trade self-management' continuing to predominate on all essential points, or vocational training becoming an election-platform, after which anything can happen - in any case within the area of basic training, whereas the consequence of politicizing the question of basic training can be that Part 2 will be preserved and will continue along the path of the power set-up as known hitherto.

6.2. AMU - from labour market policy-aims to vocational policy-aims?

Within the AMU-sphere, the trend seems to be less certain. Whereas previously a set tradition existed for including the social partners in negotiations in advance, before any major initiative was taken in the sphere of AMU-policy, it now seems as if the Government no longer obtains the prior approval of the social partners when implementing AMU--policy, and of the shifts in emphasis between the firm-orientated and the employment-orientated poles in labour market policy which this can involve.

For example, the AMU-law of 1985 introduced the possibility of VTP ('virksomhedstilpassede kurser' - firm-adapted courses) - cf. below under 6.2.2. - supplementing the 'normal' AMU-planned courses with LO's approval. However, the

Government's - i.e. the Ministry of Labour's - administration of the VTP-scheme and the allocation of resources within the AMU-sphere have led LO to think that VTP has grown too big at the expense of the 'planned courses' - i.e. that the firm-orientated view is tending to supplant the employment-orientated view in AMU-policy. Against this background, LO is about to criticize the VTP-scheme in general - and is tending to disagree with DA, which regards VTP as a useful innovation which supplements well the tools of AMU-policy.

Thus, the turning of labour market-policy towards the firm-orientated pole by the present Government has directly created a situation of tension with LO, which is also affecting relations between LO and DA and the smooth operation hitherto of the system of corporate compromise.

6.2.1. The Law concerning continued training

AMU's main characteristic of being labour *market*-orientated seems to be under threat, with the *workplace*-orientated, vocational policy, *the firm-orientated aim* about to emerge in its place.

This tendency is connected with the fact that the Government itself allocates financial aid for continued training directly to the firms, on application by them. By means of this financial aid, the Government makes it possible for training to become something which the individual firms themselves can be in charge of - without consulting the organizations, the social partners. This takes place most clearly under the Ministry of Education's law No.237, 1985, (Law on continued training education and training) in which the continued training that is made available is rather different from AMU's standard products - namely adaptation to the firms' individual requirements. But the rules concerning 'income-covered activity' for the vocational schools also are tending to result in the vocational schools - technical schools and commercial schools - basing their activities more and more upon the needs of individual firms and arranging continued training courses, etc., without consulting the labour-market organizations.

This detachment from the organizations could threaten not only the trade union movement, but also 'trade self-management', through possible disappearance of the wide recognition of continued training which exists on the labour market. However, not enough results are available yet to enable the effects of this legislation to be assessed.

6.2.2. The AMU-Law

The new AMU-law's structure of advisory boards seems to have strengthened co-operation on the LO-side. The Danish trade union for workers in engineering and other metal-using industry (DM) has thus been represented on the committee for semi-skilled worker-training and, conversely, SiD has been represented on the committee for continued training of skilled workers.

On the other hand, disputes between the LO-side and the DA-side seem to have increased. Whereas the tradition used to be that needs as estimated by industry and trade committees and continued training-committees *were* the actual requirements as determined by the labour market, practices now differ in this respect. Whereas the LO-side within the semi-skilled worker-field in 1986 abided by the cumulative requirement-estimates from the industry committees, which for 1988 amounted to about 373m kroner more than the Budget-appropriation, DA decided to ask for an additional amount of about 200m kroner.

With this, DA also referred to a view that had been put forward for a long time - namely that some form or other of payment by users would be beneficial, since asking for a contribution to the financing was an effective check on the genuineness of the need.

The offer of 200m kroner amounts to questioning the genuineness of the industry committees' estimates of needs;

but this is only one thing. Another thing is the introduction of 'payment by users'. This could mean in practice that only trainees enrolled with firms could participate in AMU-courses - and that the unrestricted nature of the AMU-system could become purely a myth. Despite the fact that the new AMU-law is generally praised on the employers' side, great dissatisfaction is expressed with the poor facilities for holding courses shorter than the 1-week-module, for example.

Great presssure is therefore being exerted to get AMU--policy over towards the firm-orientated side. Pulling in the same direction is the VTP-scheme - i.e. firm-adapted courses for which the firms will pay a portion of the training-costs, but for which the remaining funds will be taken from the schools' budgets and also - on a rather significant scale financially - withdrawn in full from the pay allowance to course participants. The VTP-courses - which have had a successful launch - are thus draining resources from the ordinary planned course-programme,the rule-of-thumb being that two VTP-courses supplant 1 ordinary AMU-course. For admission to AMU-courses, the official inspection-rules since 1981 have been to the effect that trainees enrolled with firms had first priority, those who had been promised work had second priority and only then came those seeking work and the unemployed in general. The consequence has been a decreasing proportion of unemployed in the training system which has been characterized by the 'dual objective' of satisfying both the firms' requirement of qualified labour, including qualification of those already employed, *and* providing the workers, including those without a job, with a qualification which makes their labour saleable. The AMU-system was to ensure, as *one* high-priority task, that unemployed persons can acquire qualifications which improve their chances of getting a job - and this seems to be becoming more difficult.

Thus, tendencies appear to exist towards breakdown of the 'historical compromise' that has existed so far between DA and LO concerning AMU-policy; but they can also be interpreted as a difference in the degree of opposition to the Government's campaign to change AMU-policy. However, collective reactions to this from the side of 'trade self-management' can still be formulated.

The Ministry of Labour's report of 15 December 1986 concerning an 'forward-looking labour market-policy' thus provoked a blunt reply to the hearing from the engineering and other metal-using industry's Continued Training Committee (28.1.1987), the *gist* of which is given below:

> The Ministry of Labour's report has the headings
> - Increased payment by users
> - Decentralization
> - A special effort for small firms.
>
> Regarding 'increased payment by users', Metal EU points out that it already exists in and with AUD.

Regarding 'decentralization', it is pointed out that the requirements already exceed available funds - and who will then set priorities? Gathering estimates of requirements from individual firms is not in itself decentralization; on the contrary, the lack of equal-representation organs or criteria will be tantamount to leaving the decision to the discretion of people within the state administration.

Lastly, it is pointed out that the low proportion of smaller firms in training-activity is hardly due to the AMU-courses not being relevant to them, but to the fact that something needs to be done to solve problems of information and motivation. VTP-courses are not the answer, since the category of firms involved is too small to be able to spare or provide whole classes for courses.

And in general, there is agreement that more VTP-courses and fewer general courses will certainly generate greater activity for the same money; but this means also that the supply of general courses will decrease in a way which will "change completely the principle of the law (AMU-law) and its assumptions".

Metal-EU then goes on to state that there will be unemployed persons who require systematic continued training, and others who will be able to obtain and keep a job only through general training-courses which resemble re-training courses.

This summary of the reply to the official inquiry, from the iron and steel industry's equal-representation committee on continued training, must be interpreted as a strong warning against attempting to turn AMU-policy too much towards the vocational policy/individual firm-orientated pole - and instead to adhere to the aim at the point of compromise with the trade union movement - i.e. the aim of AMU's labour market policy, in which qualifications are maintained which ensure wide saleability of skills on the labour market, and mobility.

7. Summary of opinions on the Danish youth and adult training system

At the end of section 6 it was indicated that a vocational training policy which provides qualifications that are widely saleable on the labour market and allow high mobility of labour, form a key point of compromise at which the interests of the social partners can be met.

It was a compromise of this kind that lay behind the originally controversial 1937-Law concerning apprentices, which laid down the framework for 'trade self-management'.

It resulted in the entry of alternance training - apprentice training - into a process which catered equally for the two sides of industry. The regulation of in-firm training established a balance between the interests of small, medium-sized and large firms, and the interests of the trade unions. The consequence later on was that the social partners were jointly involved in, and acquired decisive influence also upon, the ever-increasing scholastic part of the training, which has been publicly financed completely from taxation since 1975.

Development of the traditions of 'trade self-management' must therefore be seen as an essential contribution to the concensus which exists today on the importance of giving priority to vocational training and on striving to enable as many young persons as possible to gain admission to vocational training. In more recent years it has been marked by great expansion of EFG-basic-year, which must be regarded as an essential part of the background to the increase - from about 23% in 1975 to about 40% in 1984 - in the proportion of youths actually starting a course of alternance training.

Approval of the use of the necessary tax provenue for this purpose has undoubtedly been supported also by the important role played by 'trade self-management' in all phases of vocational training policy, resulting in large groups from the employers' side and from the trade union-side actively participating in vocational training.

In addition to this, however, the active involvement of the same groups in vocational training policy is important in another way. For the Danish trade union movement it has resulted in training coming to be regarded as a key factor in safeguarding employment, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

In this report an account is thus given of the key role played by the contractual obligation in mediating between labour market-segments in production, training and coverage by collective agreements, and hence the role of the organizations in vocational training.

The contractual obligation has enabled wide trade-coverage to be defended and sound in-firm training to be provided, and has also thereby enabled the mobility of the skilled tradesmen within an industry to be achieved - which were needs of the labour market, but would not necessarily have been met if equal-representation regulation of apprentice training had not existed. The problem of 'wrong' training courses, which prevent skilled qualifications from being sold on the labour market, has been limited thereby. The system can thus refuse to set up trade training courses where the potential area of employment is narrow and requires little in the way of qualification.

The question of contractual obligation is bound up with coverage by collective agreement - which explains why dynamic, organized competition exists between different parts of 'trade self-management', in meeting new qualification-requirements. However, it would be wrong to regard this alone as an expression of competition between the unions, as problems of demarcation.

In most cases it will be obvious which equal-representation organs are responsible for formulating the response of training policy to new qualification-requirements in an industry.

The keen interest shown in solving this problem must be seen as part of the general strategy in the Danish trade union movement - namely of supporting the objectives, higher productivity, product innovation, general innovation, etc., because it is the means of increasing employment. Only when the question of the allocation of finance arises are the employers seen as the unions' counterpart. This means that vocational training policy is obviously regarded as a project of co-operation between the social partners - for which governmental support is generally sought. It is also the underlying reason why more controversial questions of finance and policy are not handled by 'trade self-management' as such, but by the main labour-market organizations and by Parliament in the case of questions relating to policy.

This segregation of controversial questions of finance and policy has also resulted in the system of 'trade self-management' having great capacity to settle disputes over problems of actual apprentice training and vocational training. Thus, in 1977 the social partners backed up the establishment of the AER-fund, which collects money from all employers for the purpose of reimbursing the training-firms for wages paid to apprentices and to students while at vocational school. A particularly exciting example of the ability of 'trade self-management' to find solutions to own-industry's needs is the 'Elevbyg'-scheme, in which the Joint Committee for the Bricklayer's Trade acts as a 'collective training-master' and provides all-round training on work-sites in the bricklaying trade.

In the same way, the combination of ensuring increased productivity, etc., through a well-trained work-force and ensuring the maintenance or obtaining of employment through unrestricted admission to a labour-market training scheme, constitutes the point at which the interests of the social partners can be reconciled, concerning semi-skilled worker-training and continued training in AMU-policy. There may be disagreement over the weighting as between the two aspects; but as already shown at the end of section 6, the fudamental element is desired in the compromise, that both interests should be included, supported by both sides of industry, and as exemplified in practice by the sector of engineering and other metal-using industry. This basic agreement must also be regarded as an essential basis for the present attainment of a participation-level of 7-9% of the target group annually in AMU-courses.

With her many small and medium-sized firms, Denmark is greatly dependent upon flexibility, the ability to re-organize and mobility within the labour force. Mobility is in fact very high; in Copenhagen approx. 55% of male workers changed jobs within a year and in the provinces approx. 45%, and in building and construction within the Copenhagen-area the percentage of job-changing was as high as 105% of the work-force within a year. [1] In two current evaluations of semi-skilled worker-training [2] and continued training [3], respectively. it is proved that the AMU-system assists mobility. It cannot be proved, but it is probable that alternance training in general - with the emphasis upon the small firms as places of training - also helps to increase the capacity and willingness for mobility which are characteristic of the Danish labour market. If a national qualification was not provided for apprentice training (including EFG) and for AMU-training, with reasonably open admission to these for a sufficiently large part of the labour force, then there could be serious 'paradox'-problems. This would be considered very problematical by both trade unions and employers.

'Trade self-management' is therefore insisting upon the need for a common, nation-wide qualification for vocational training and is very sceptical about ideas of 'decentralization' - or, more corectly, regionalization. Vocational training of sufficient quality is so expensive that it requires aid on a large scale from public funds. If this aid is to be channelled without consulting the labour-market organizations, then in practice this will be more

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[1] DA-statistics for 1986.

[2] ATA

[3] AKF

directly from the Government - or regional public authorities - to the firms. The qualifications will, of course, become far more diverse and possibly firm-specific - and in any case mobility and the existence of organized labour market-segments are being threatened.

With the Danish labour market and the Danish vocational structure looking as they are at present, therefore, the basic principles of 'trade self-management' are far better for compiling and meeting future qualification-requirements. The key role of the social partners in vocational and labour-market training in Denmark involves an attitude of the organizations' and their active participation in relation to the future trend of the market. This involves the relating of vocational training-policy to both youth training-policy and policy for industry and technology. The principle of alternance training is central to this linking-process and is warmly supported by both the social partners and the Ministry of Education. The various analyses and expositions in this report should be understood as a process of further study and definition of this fundamental agreement on general principles in Danish youth and adult vocational training.

Appendix I: Figure Tables and Time Series

Figure table 1 : Development of the number of young persons, starting and finishing an EFG-basic-year education.

Figure table 2 : Main trends in the streaming of youth into general and vocational upper secondary education in the last ten years.

Figure table 3 : Development trends in youth demand for "learning- and practice-places".

Figure table 4 : The Queu for "learning- and practice-places".

Figure table 5(1) : Total capacity for intake to upper secondary education 1984.

Figure table 5(2) : The "residual group" in 1979, 1981 and 1984.

Figure tables 6&7 : Apprentices and EFG-part2-practicants learning metal trades, distributed by size of the firm, where they are employed.

Figure tables 8&9 : Apprentices and EFG-part2-practicants within building and construction, distributed by size of the firm, where they are employed.

Figure table 1

Development of the number of young persons, starting and finishing an EFG-basic-year education, that passes on to an EFG-2.part- education.

	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Commercial - and Office "main area"						
Started EFG-2.part 1. october	400	9223	10584	10955	10901	13027
EFG-basic-year fulfilled before 1. october		18862	20339	21299	20514	20838
Started on EFG-basic-year the year before	1037	19627	21792	22068	22569	22785
Percentage EFG-basic-year-starters, who starts on EFG-part 2 the following year	38%	47%	48%	50%	48%	57%
Percentage EFG-basic-year-fulfillers, who continues on an EFG-part 2 the same year	42%	49%	53%	52%	53%	63%
"Handicraft - and Industry main areas"						
Started EFG-2.part 1. october	1621	3807	4847	6137	6451	7697
EFG-basic-year fulfilled before 1. october		5321	7887	9361	12212	13999
Started on EFG-basic year the year before	2510	6504	9654	11253	15020	16492
Percentage EFG-basic-year-starters, who starts on EFG-part 2 the following year	65%	59%	50%	54%	43%	47%
Percentage EFG-basic-year-fulfillers, who continues on an EFG-part 2 the same year	81%	72%	61%	65%	53%	55%

Source: Statistiske Efterretninger, serien "Uddannelse og Kultur", which is build on a computerised register of the individuals, and therefore quarantees against "double-countings" - but this greater reliability unfortunately involves the cost of rather late publishing of the results. For 1975 all the figures were not available in the DS-series, but are supplemented by DfE-documentary materials, dated 13.11.1979.

Figure table 2

Main trends in the streaming of youth into general and vocational upper secondary education (2. cycle) in the last ten years: Intake to the different youth educations:

	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of 17-years old	75000	76500	81000	82300	84600	87400
Upper secondary school (Gymnasium, HF etc.	23252	28526	31611	32464	31425	28750
Qualifying examination-courses at business schools and technical schools ("school-based" vocational (and sometimes: study-preparing) education)	4896	9999	12340	13798	13944	14904
As part of total:						
HHX	1932	5942	7648	8800	8669	8836
EDP-assistents	248	490	488	500	583	816
HTX				113	105	281
Junior Technicians	701	953	1039	960	963	1397
Technical drawers	234	591	607	606	699	647
Laboratory technicians	485	850	1173	1164	1069	1133
Entering apprenticeship and starting on EFG-part 2, i.e sum of young persons obtaining a practice-place-contracts	17015	28817	28071	30440	30883	34928
Of these:						
Apprentices	14997	15787	12640	13348	13531	14204
HK-share of apprentices	5538	2858	2220	2412	2559	2811
Of these:						
EFG-part 2	2021	13030	15431	17092	17352	20724
HK-share of EFG-part 2	400	9223	10584	10955	10901	13027
EFG-basic-year-education	6356	31451	33321	37589	39277	38492
HK-share of these	2072	21792	22068	22569	22785	21595

Source: Danmarks Statistik's yearly counting by 1. october.
Note: Its should be remarked, that even if the DS-counting is based on the individual register, it is not possible to get an impression of, the "residual group" from this figure table. It counts the intake capacity. See also figure tables 5(1) and 5(2)

Figure table 3

Development trends in youth demand for "learning-and-practiceplaces" i.e. applicants for a contract-employment as part of an apprentice - or EFG-part 2-education, 1968/69-1982.

	I "Learning-and-practiceplace"-applicants			II (2)	III Contracts established through AF			IV Formally correct, accepted and registrated contracts				V 5(=3:4) Percentage of all contracts, established as result of AF-activity		VI 6(1:4) Number of apllicants as percentage of established contracts	
								§1	§30	EFG 2. part	Contracts total (3)				
1968/69	6183			5910	3546			26049	5886		31935	11%		19%	
1969/70	5178			5302	2883			24977	6493		30570	10%		19%	
1970/71	5341			4571	3020			23288	7329	86	30703	10%		17%	
1971/72	4995			4022	2870			19799	7018	171	26988	11%		18%	
1972/73	5295			4063	1793			13706	7381	695	21782	14%		24%	
1973/74	5406			3491	2592			15698	7523	1246	24465	11%		22%	
1974/75	6599			2823	2163			13035	6746	2021	21802	10%		30%	
1975/76	7300			3376	2605			11791	7934	4191	23873	11%		30%	
1976/77	8666			3944	2877			14357	10423	5857	30637	9%		28%	
1977/78	10984			5443	4794			13720	9684	6825	30229	16%		36%	
1978 (1)	13433			7120	6550			11170	7623	7012	25805	25%		52%	
1979	19235			10272	8473			14896	7583	13096	25805	24%			
	EFG	ML(4)	Total		EFG	ML(4)	Total						EFG		EFG
1980	13359	10540	23899	9189	4618	3885	8503	13085	5967	14691	33743	24%	31%	71%	91%
1981	21041	11171	32211	13592	8350	4454	12804	11403	5348	17238	33989	38%	48%	95%	123%
1982	23655	11897	35552	9582	6070	2975	9045	11641	6496	19008	37145	24%	32%	96%	124%

Note (1): 1. april - 31. december 1978

Note (2): Heading for column 2 is the following: "Employers announcement of available places to AF"

Note (3): Contracts established is not identical with realized contracts. Some dont get started, some are nullified during the probation periode etc. The figure from AD is therefore always much higher than the number of apprentices and EFG-2.parts-practicians registrated as involved in vocational training by Danmarks Statistik (DS) the first of october each year. F.ex. is the DS-figure for 1982 30440 functionning contracts, where as the AD-figure for 1982 in this figure-table counts 37145.

Note (4): ML = "Mesterlære" - Master Apprenticeship.

Source: Up to 1977-78, Danmarks Statistik, except 1973-74, where figures are from DfE. From 1977-78 onwards the sources is AD, Arbejdsdirektoratet, Ministry of Labour.

Comments to figure table 3

The table is based on John Houman Sørensen (1986) where sources and methodology are further commented.

The central change of trend between 1968 and 1982 is that the young persons search for a "learning-place" earlier was taking place predominantly within a private - or civic - market. The pattern now has changed to a search through the public labour-market-authorities, using the AF-channel.

Up to 1972 the number of "learning-place"-applicants searching a place through the AF was less than 20% of the contracts established - whereas the figure for 1982 was 96%.

But this applies only to the search for a "learning-and practice-place". If one turns the attention to how the young persons, who actually gets employment in a training-contract-relationsship, the "private" system still dominates. The percentages of contracts realized as a result of AF's efferts has only rised from 11% to 24% - and the "private" mediation-mechanism is still relatively strongest within master-apprenticeship, where only 16% of the contracts are realized due to AF, compared with 32% within the EFG-part 2-practice-contracts. (See column 5 in figure table).

Figure table 4

The Queu for "learning-and-practice" places based on the monthly reports from the AF-offices, 1981-1986.

	"Season" (1) and type of vocational training											
	Ultimo may			Ultimo august			Ultimo december			December figures for "commercial and office-Main Area") alone		
	EFG	ML	Total	EFG	ML	Total	EFG	ML	Total	EFG	ML	Total
1981				9513	4433	13946	5789	3633	9422	3898	815	4713
1982	3923	3309	7232	11771	4440	16211	6678	3403	10081	4326	1111	5437
1983	5345	3472	8817	14722	4685	19407	8893	4150	13143	5262	1545	6807
1984	6160	3939	10099	13668	4978	18646	7917	3997	11914	4308	1582	5870
1985	7407	3934	11291	10844	4596	15440	6095	3543	9638	3197	1182	4379
1986 (31.3.)	5538	3045	8583							2799 (31.3.)	1020	3819

Source: Yearly Reports of AD + AD-press releases.

Note (1): "Season": Ultimo may is immediately before new applicants from the ranks of school-leavers (looking for master-apprenticeship-learning-places) and from EFG-basis-year (going to finish it in mid-june) will turn up in the market of contract-seekers. This means that the ultimo may-figures ought to be the lowest possible each year, and that the number of young persons in the queu can look forward to a sharpened competition within few month. The figures for ultimo august shows how many of the young, who have to realize that their education-and-training career can't continue smoothly - and the december-figures how many has experienced at least ½ year discontinuance of their educations.

Figure table 5(1)

Total capacity for intake to upper secondary education (2. cycle) 1984

1984 entrance-figures to:

Upper secondary education (Gymn. + HF)	28.700
Qualifying examination-courses at commercial schools and technical schools	14.900
Apprentice training courses	14.200
EFG-basic year	38.500
Total	ca 96.300

Comments: In relation to a youth cohert of appr. 87400 17-years old the entrace-capacity looks impressing. But it is strongly misleading firstly because, as pointed out in the main report chapter 3, section 1.4, not the EFG-basic-year capacity, but the intake capacity for EFG-part 2 ought to be counted.

Secondly, even this correction isn't enough, because the real flow of the young between the different parts of the educational system according to calculation from "The economic-statistical consulent-office" in the Ministry of Education 1986 has shown that the real social demand for secondary education is estimated to be 115% of the youth cohort in 8. class elementary school the year before. In the following figure/flow chart 2.1.1. from this office shows the total transfer-pattern 1983-84 measured by percentage-frequences ("normated transfer-frequences").

Finally in figure table 5(2) these "normated transfer-frequences" are used to calculate the size of the "residual group" on basis of the newest figures available for this very accurate type of calculation.

Figure table 5(2) is calculated and described in A. Mathiesen 1987. The result is a residual group of 36,9% of the youth cohort in 1983-84.

Figure/Flow chart 2.1.1. (Ministry of Education, ØSK)
Normated transfer-frequences, total pattern

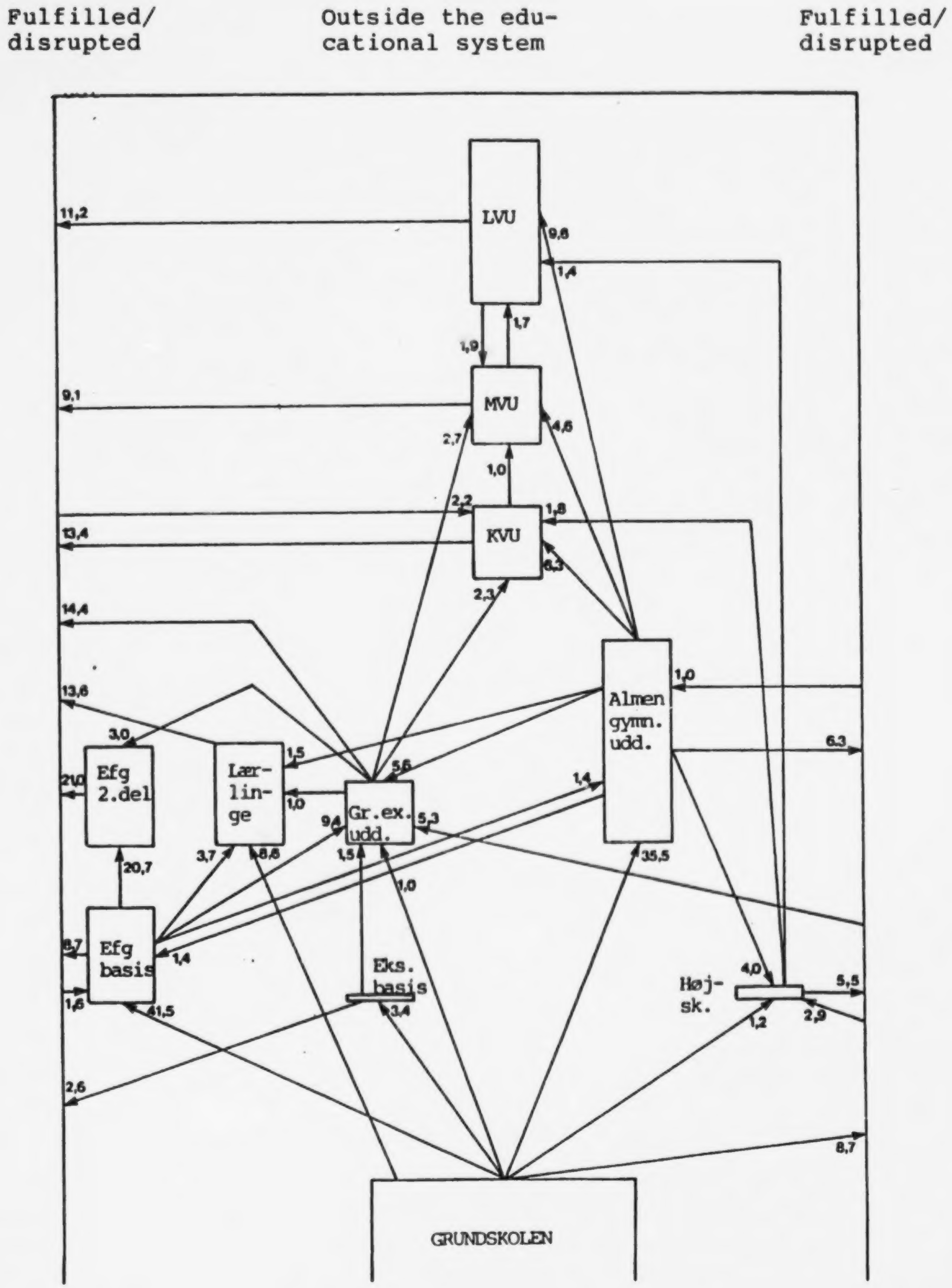

Fulfilled/ disrupted
Outside the educational system
Fulfilled/ disrupted
LVU
MVU
KVU
Almen gymn. udd.
Efg 2.del
Lærlinge
Gr.ex. udd.
Efg basis
Eks. basis
Højsk.
GRUNDSKOLEN
11,2
9,8
1,4
1,9
1,7
9,1
2,7
4,6
1,0
2,2
1,8
13,4
6,3
2,3
14,4
1,0
13,6
3,0
1,5
5,6
6,3
21,0
1,0
1,4
9,4
5,3
20,7
3,7
8,6
1,5
1,0
35,5
8,7
1,4
1,6
41,5
3,4
4,0
5,5
1,2
2,9
2,6
8,7

Figure table 5(2)

The "residual group", calculated as a percentage part of a youth cohort by summing up normated turn-over from the educational system to surrounding society without having fulfilled an training/ education giving a recognized vocational competence. Counting time: 1. october 1979, 1981 and 1984.

	1978-79 pct.	1980-81 pct.	1983-84 pct.
1. Only elementary school	29,6	26,8	20,5
2. Only basic vocational introduction	10,1	10,3	11,4
3. Persons with disrupted basic vocational training	6,3	4,3	5,0
"Residual Group" without a basic recognized vocational training-competence	46,0	41,4	36,9
4. Persons with disrupted tertiary education	10,0	9,1	10,5
"Residual Group" including persons who started, but not fulfilled, tertiary education	56,0	50,5	47,4

Source: A. Mathiesen 1987, p. 7

Figure table 6

Apprentices and EFG-part 2-practicants learning in the mechanical-engineering-trade, employed in the metal-working industries (counting 67,2% of the apprentices, incl. EFG, learning this trade)

	Apprentices		EFG-2. part.		Total		EFG-share in %	Number of employed		Percentage appr. + EFG of all employed
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		Number	%	
Total	2204	100,0	678	100,0	2882	100,0	23,5	118444	100,0	2%
0 employed	39	1,8	7	1,0	46	1,6	15,2	- *	-	53%
1 "	19	0,9	5	0,7	24	0,8	20,8	116	0,1	21%
2 "	21	1,0	8	1,2	29	1,0	27,6	352	0,3	8%
3-5 "	82	3,7	16	2,4	98	3,4	16,3	1388	1,2	7%
6-19 "	392	17,8	112	16,5	504	17,5	22,2	7453	6,3	7%
20-49 "	295	13,4	62	9,1	357	12,4	17,4	10112	8,5	4%
50-99 "	276	12,5	102	15,0	378	13,1	27,0	10760	9,1	4%
100-199 "	298	13,5	92	13,6	390	13,5	23,6	14078	11,9	3%
200-499 "	245	11,1	76	11,2	321	11,1	23,7	20930	17,7	2%
500-999 "	135	6,1	71	10,5	206	7,1	34,5	13413	11,3	2%
1000- "	402	18,2	127	18,7	529	18,4	24,0	39842	33,6	1%

Source: PUKKS, special computer run on DS-material, see John Houman Sørensen a.o., 1984.

* Number of firms is 86, which is assummed to be equal to the number of master/employers themselves taking part in production. The number 86 is therefore being used as basis for calculating on apprentice + EFG-share of 53%

Figure table 7

Apprentices and EFG-part 2-practicants learning the smith-trade, employed in the metal-working industries (counting 45,1% of the apprentices, incl EFG, learning the smith-trade). Apprentices and EFG-2. part-practicants, total 1. january 81, related to total work force in metal working firms.

	Apprentices		EFG-2. part.		Total		EFG-share in %	Number of employed		Percentage appr. + EFG of all employed
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		Number	%	
Total	2468	100,0	527	100,0	2995	100,0	17,6	118444	100,0	3%
0 employed	59	2,4	9	1,7	68	2,3	13,2	- *	-	79%
1 "	82	3,3	6	1,1	88	2,9	6,8	116	0,1	76%
2 "	139	5,6	8	1,5	147	4,9	5,4	352	0,3	41%
3-5 "	291	11,8	33	6,3	324	10,8	10,2	1388	1,2	23%
6-19 "	560	22,7	100	19,0	660	22,0	15,2	7453	6,3	9%
20-49 "	393	15,9	77	14,6	470	15,7	16,4	10112	8,5	5%
50-99 "	222	9,0	75	14,2	297	9,9	25,3	10760	9,1	3%
100-199 "	236	9,6	63	12,0	299	10,0	21,1	14078	11,9	2%
200-499 "	83	3,4	32	6,1	115	3,8	27,8	20930	17,7	1%
500-999 "	97	3,9	26	4,9	123	4,1	21,1	13413	11,3	1%
1000- "	306	12,4	98	18,6	404	13,5	24,3	39842	33,6	1%

Source: PUKKS, special computer run on DS-material, see John Houman Sørensen a.o., 1984.

* Number of firms is 86, which is assummed to be equal to the number of master/employers themselves taking part in production. The number 86 is therefore being used as basis for calculating on apprentice + EFG-share of 53%

Common comments to figure tables 6 and 7

In the two figures tables the number of apprentices (incl EFG) in the mechanical engineering - plus the smith-trade, employed in all sizes, including those with less than 6 employed, of metal working firms counts 2882 + 2995 = approximately 5900.

In "Industrial Statistics" the number of apprentices (incl EFG) in all the metal working trades counts 8142 employed in metal working firms employing more than 6 persons. The comparable number of skilled and unskilled workers in metal working industry is 110.287, so that apprentices (incl EFG) counts approximately 8% of the worker-labour-force. Even if this percentage seems to be sufficient to reproduce the group of adult skilled workers in the metal working industry, it is only 37% of the total number of apprentices (incl EFG), within all the metal trades, which according to DS counted 22193 on 1. october 1984.

This makes it clear that the majority of skilled metalworkers learned their trade with in-firm-training in firms with less that 6 employed (definitory limit of "industrial statistics") or in firms which statistically belongs under other sectors that "iron-and-metal-working industries"!

Also within the "iron-and-metal working-industries" smaller firms seems to be more inclined to employ and train apprentices and practicant.

But within the mechanical-engineering trade the absolute number of apprentices + EFG-practicants finds its maximum in firms with between 6 and 200 employed, even if the relative tendency to train is greatest in the smaller firms.

In the smiths trade the smallest firms is as well relatively as absolutely very important. Metal working firms with less than 20 employed represents 43% of the in-firm-training capacity, which should be compared with a share of 8% of the total worker employment in this group of firms.

Introduction to figure tables 8 and 9

Within the building-and-construction-sector the smaller firms are even more important for the in-firm-training capacity for apprentices and EFG-part 2-practicants, and it is statistically far better eludicated. The two following figure table are calculated on basis of official DS-publications, in which employment within private building and construction is disaggreated according to size of the firm for the period 1964-80.

From figure table 9 follows that apprentices (including EFG-2. part) counted 29% of all skilled workers in private building-and-construction-firms - and that all firms with 20 or more in total employment had an apprentice-ratio below the branch-average of 29%.

82% of all the apprentices (incl EFG-2. part) was employed in firms with less that 20 in total employment in 1980.

The dominance of the small firms in training apprentices in the building and construction trades is therefore far greater that the average of all trades. For all trades on national basis a combinated computer run made 1. october 1982 showed that firms with less that 20 in total employment trained 57% of the apprentices (including EFG-2.part), but employed only 18% of the total labour fource.

Figure table 8

Number of apprentices (incl. EFG-2.part) in private building and construction 1964-80.

Firms by size of total employment

	1		2		3-4		5-6		7-9		10-19		20-49		50-99		100-499		500- >		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1964	-	-	1174	5,2	5039	22,2	4320	19,0	3774	16,6	4392	19,3	2301	10,1	948	4,2	755	3,3	42	0,2	22745	100
1968	-	-	1250	5,3	5429	23,1	4618	19,6	3753	16,0	4434	18,9	2387	10,2	894	3,8	699	3,0	50	0,2	23514	100
1971	-	-	1116	5,5	4268	20,9	3703	18,1	3475	17,0	3976	19,5	2318	11,3	781	3,8	748	3,7	52	0,3	20437	100
1974	1	0	638	3,8	2954	17,7	3055	18,3	3152	18,9	3551	21,3	1974	11,8	634	3,8	708	4,2	18	0,1	16685	100
1977	2	0	588	4,1	2662	18,4	2752	19,0	2544	17,6	3287	22,7	1660	11,5	470	3,2	482	3,3	27	0,2	14474	100
1980	2	0	728	4,9	3271	19,9	3069	18,6	2876	17,4	3585	21,8	1913	11,6	441	2,7	564	3,4	27	0,2	16476	100

Source: SE 1966, no. 38, SE 1970 no. 6, SE 1972 no. 46,
SE 1975 no. 55, SE 1978A no. 29.
SE 1981 no. A 37.

Figure table 9

"The apprentice quota": number of apprentices (incl EFG-2.part) divided with number of skilled workers in private building and construction 1964-80.

Firma by size of total employment

	1	2	3-4	5-6	7-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500 >	Total
1964	-	0.80	1.00	0.76	0.60	0.44	0.28	0.20	0.13	0.06	0.48
1968	-	0.70	0.84	0.66	0.53	0.39	0.25	0.18	0.09	0.03	0.41
1971	-	0.58	0.66	0.54	0.48	0.33	0.22	0.14	0.08	0.03	0.34
1974		0.30	0.43	0.44	0.41	0.30	0.20	0.11	0.08	0.03	0.28
1977		0.23	0.33	0.36	0.33	0.26	0.18	0.10	0.08	0.04	0.24
1980		0.25	0.41	0.42	0.37	0.32	0.21	0.13	0.10	0.05	0.29

Source: SE 1966, no. 38, SE 1970 no. 6, SE 1972 no. 46,
SE 1975 no. 55, SE 1978A no. 29.
SE 1981 no. A 37.

Appendix II: Illustrations of the structure of the EFG- and the masterapprenticeship vocational training schemes

Illustration no. 1: Survey over the training and education-schemes within the "technical" field.

Illustration no. 2: Survey over the training and education-schemes within the "commercial and administrative" field.

Illustration no. 3: EFG-training schemes within the iron- and metal-trades.

Illustration no. 4: Apprenticeship - training schemes within the iron - and metal - trades.

Illustration no. 5: EFG-training schemes within the building- and construction-trades.

Illustration no. 6: Apprenticeship - training schemes within the building- and construction-trades.

Illustration no. 7: EFG-training schemes within the commercial and administrative trades.

Illustration no. 8: Apprenticeship - training schemes within the commercial and administrative trades.

Illustration no. 9: Figure table showing intake and stock of pupils in each of the 8 "main fields" of the vocational training system and their distribution at schools 1984.

Surveys and illustrations of the structure of the EFG- and the "master-apprenticeship"-educations within the vocational training system

The following illustrations are reproduced from the danish version of RUE's (The Council for Educational and Vocational Guidance, under the Ministry of Education) official pamphlet "about the apprenticeship - and EFG - educations 1987". As no complete or official translation exists, we would recommend readers with special interest in these matters to read this unofficial translation with some precaution and eventually write to the authors of this report about possible problems of terminology.

Illustration no 1 gives a general survey of the training- and education-schemes within the technical field, illustration no 2 the same within the commercial- and administrative field.

Illustration no 3-8 shows the title of each of the streamings, the curriculum and the gradual spezialisation of the training schemes within three of the "main fields" of the vocational educationsystem, namely the "iron- and metal"-field, the "building- and construction"-field and the "commercial and administrative"-field.

In the illustrations school-attendance periods are indicated by a number, placed within the "boxes". This number is the number of weeks spent at school at this stage of the education ("40" = 40 weeks, equal to a full years term at vocational school (HS or TS)).

Emty "boxes" indicates in-firm-training periods during the education and the size/length of the "boxes" represents the length of the period spent at the "practice-place".

All EFG-training-schemes starts with a one-year school-attendance, "the basic year".

Within the "building-and-construction" field second half of the "basic year" is parted in 5 streamings:

1) electrical - group-of-trades
2) a group of trades connected with water-, gas-, sanitary-installations, pipe-work etc.
3) mason bricklayer, stone mason and connected group of trades
4) painter - group of trades
5) wood-working - group of trades.

Within the "iron-and metal" field the first 16 weeks of the "basic year" is completely common. Within the next 4 weeks a non-committing choice between 3 streamings, a "smith-and fitter"-group of trades, an "electronics"-group of trades and a "transport-means" (mostly different auto-mechanics) group of trades, is to be taken by the pupils. For the last 20 weeks, a definitive choice between these 3 streamings has to be made.

Finally, illustration no. 9 shows the 8 "main fields" constituting the vocational training system in Denmark and their quantitative size.

Illustration no 1

Survey over the training and educationschemes within the "technical" field

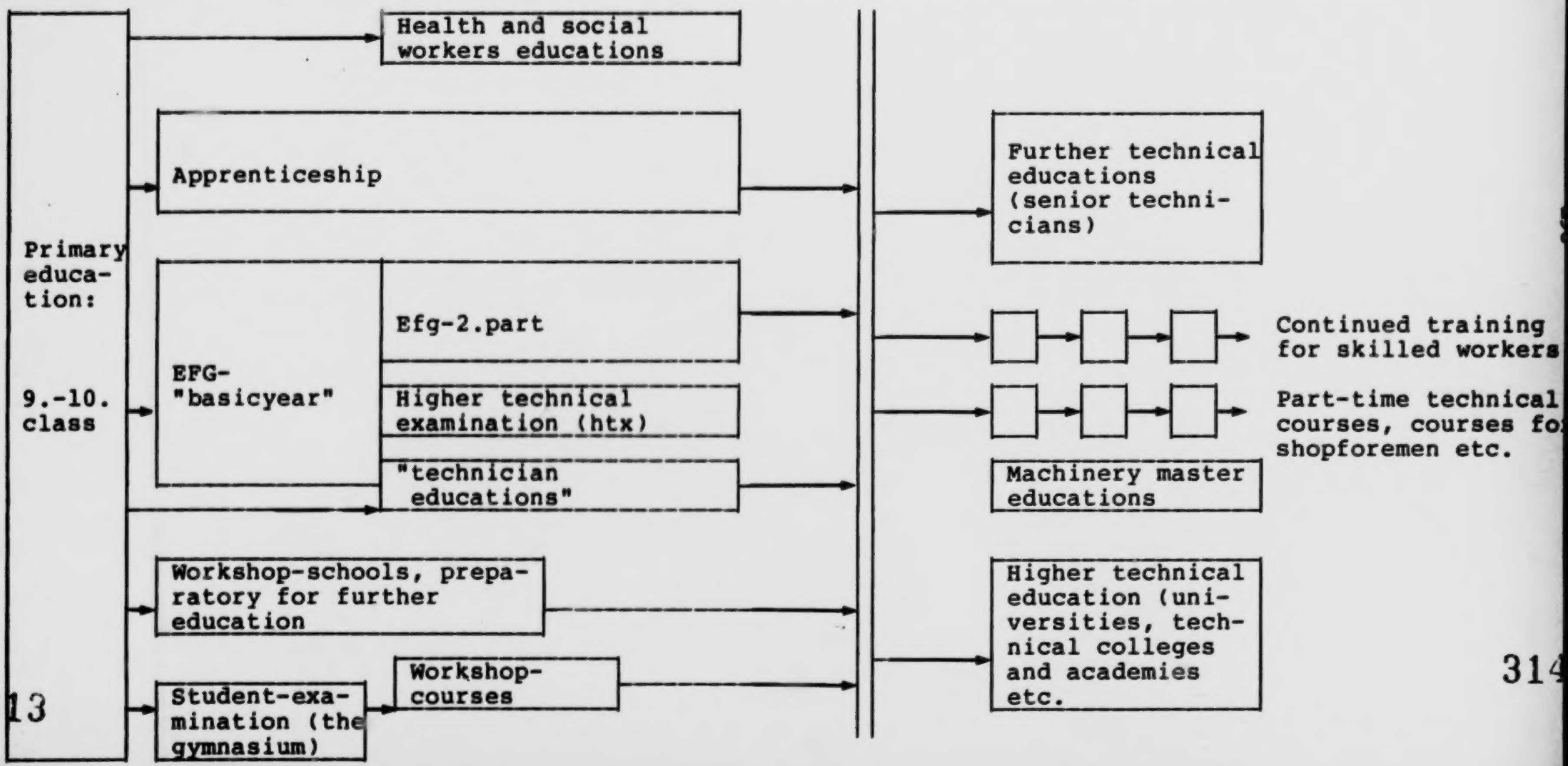

Primary education:
9.-10. class
Health and social workers educations
Apprenticeship
EFG- "basicyear"
Efg-2.part
Higher technical examination (htx)
"technician educations"
Workshop-schools, preparatory for further education
Student-examination (the gymnasium)
Workshop-courses
Further technical educations (senior technicians)
Continued training for skilled workers
Part-time technical courses, courses fo shopforemen etc.
Machinery master educations
Higher technical education (universities, technical colleges and academies etc.

Illustration no 2

Survey over the training and educationschemes within the "commercial and administrative" field.

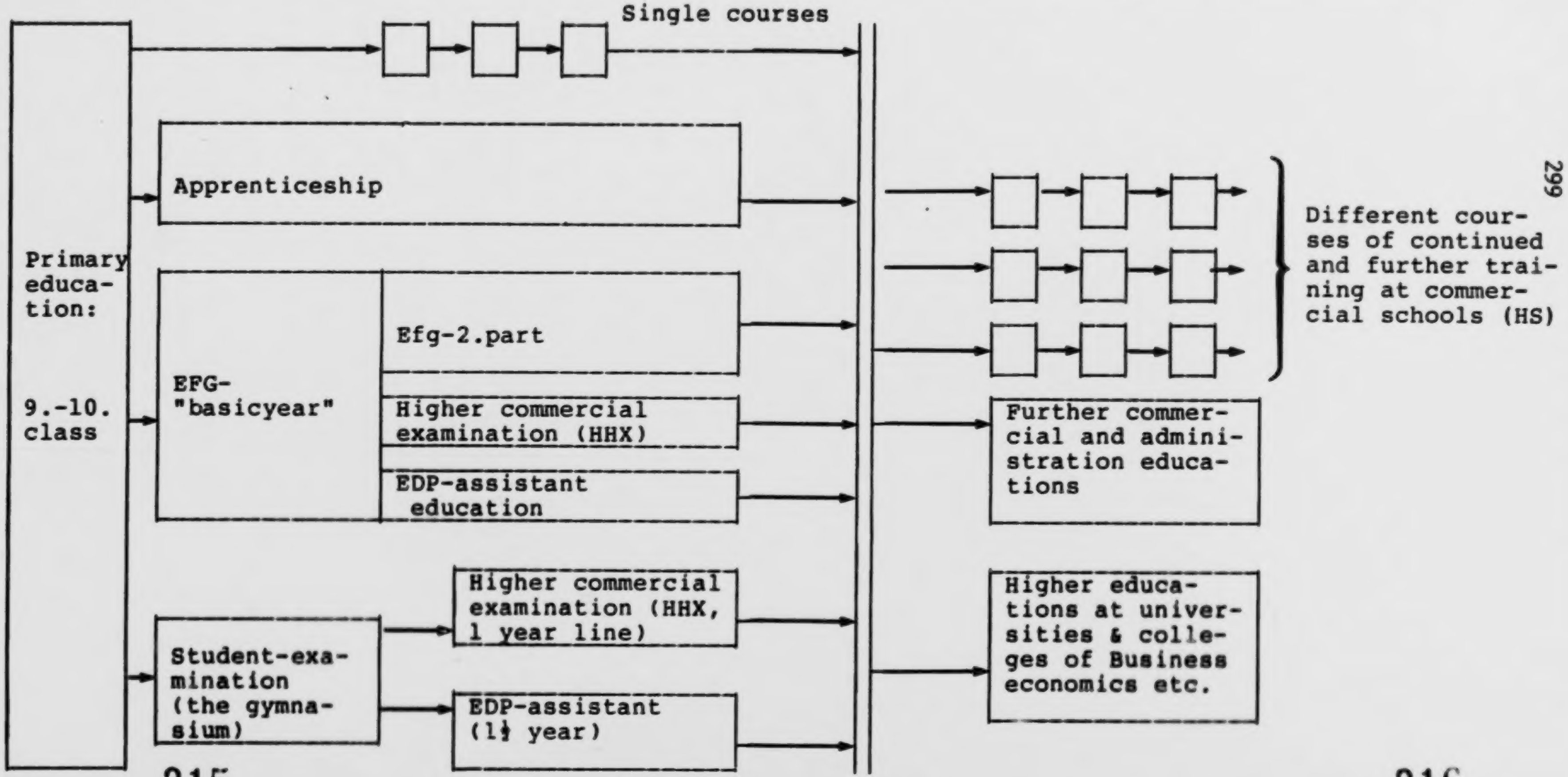
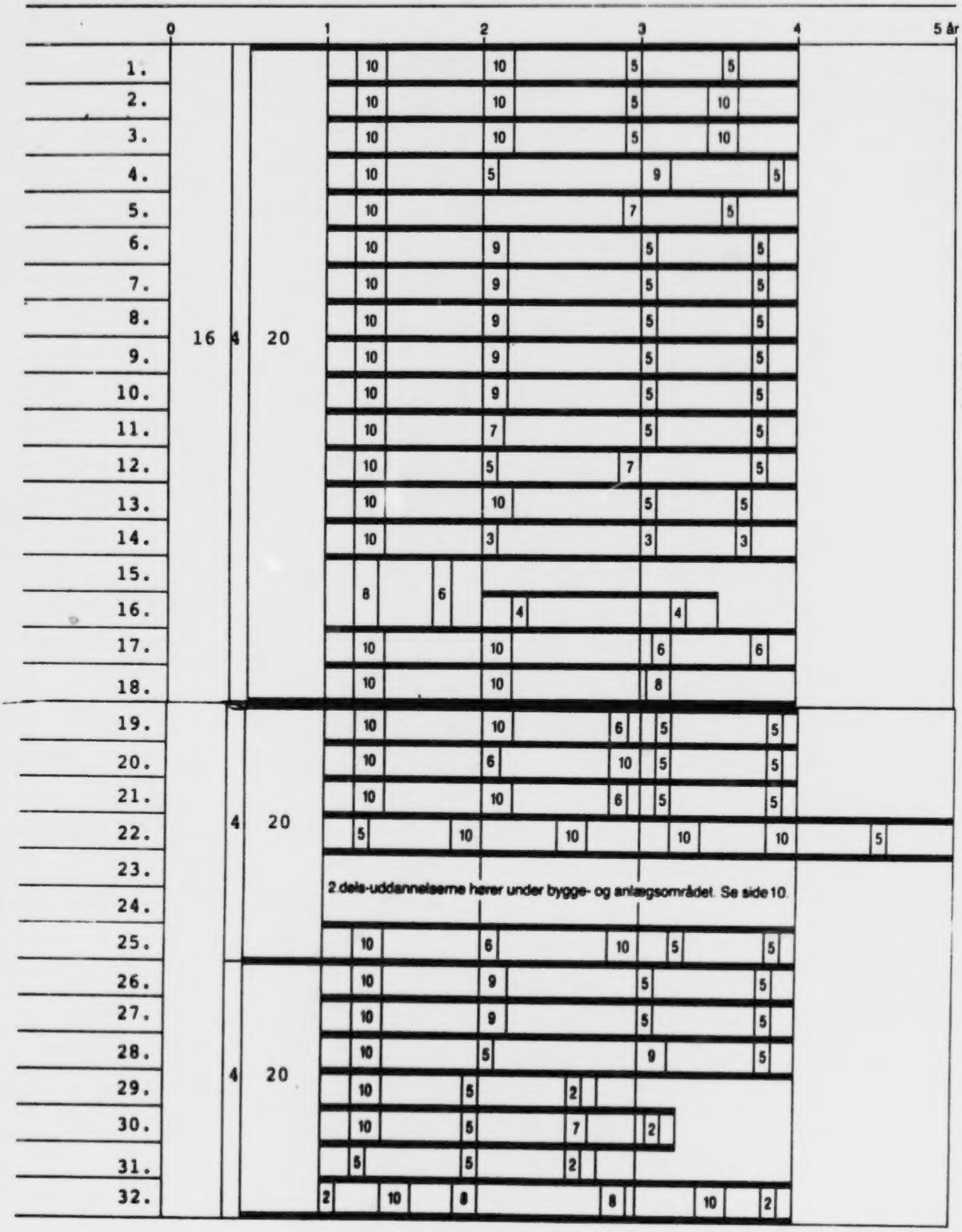

Single courses
Primary education:
9.-10. class
Apprenticeship
EFG- "basicyear"
Efg-2.part
Higher commercial examination (HHX)
EDP-assistant education
Student-examination (the gymnasium)
Higher commercial examination (HHX, 1 year line)
EDP-assistant (1½ year)
Different courses of continued and further training at commercial schools (HS)
Further commercial and administration educations
Higher educations at universities & colleges of Business economics etc.

Illustration no 3

Iron- and metalfield, EFG-vocational educations

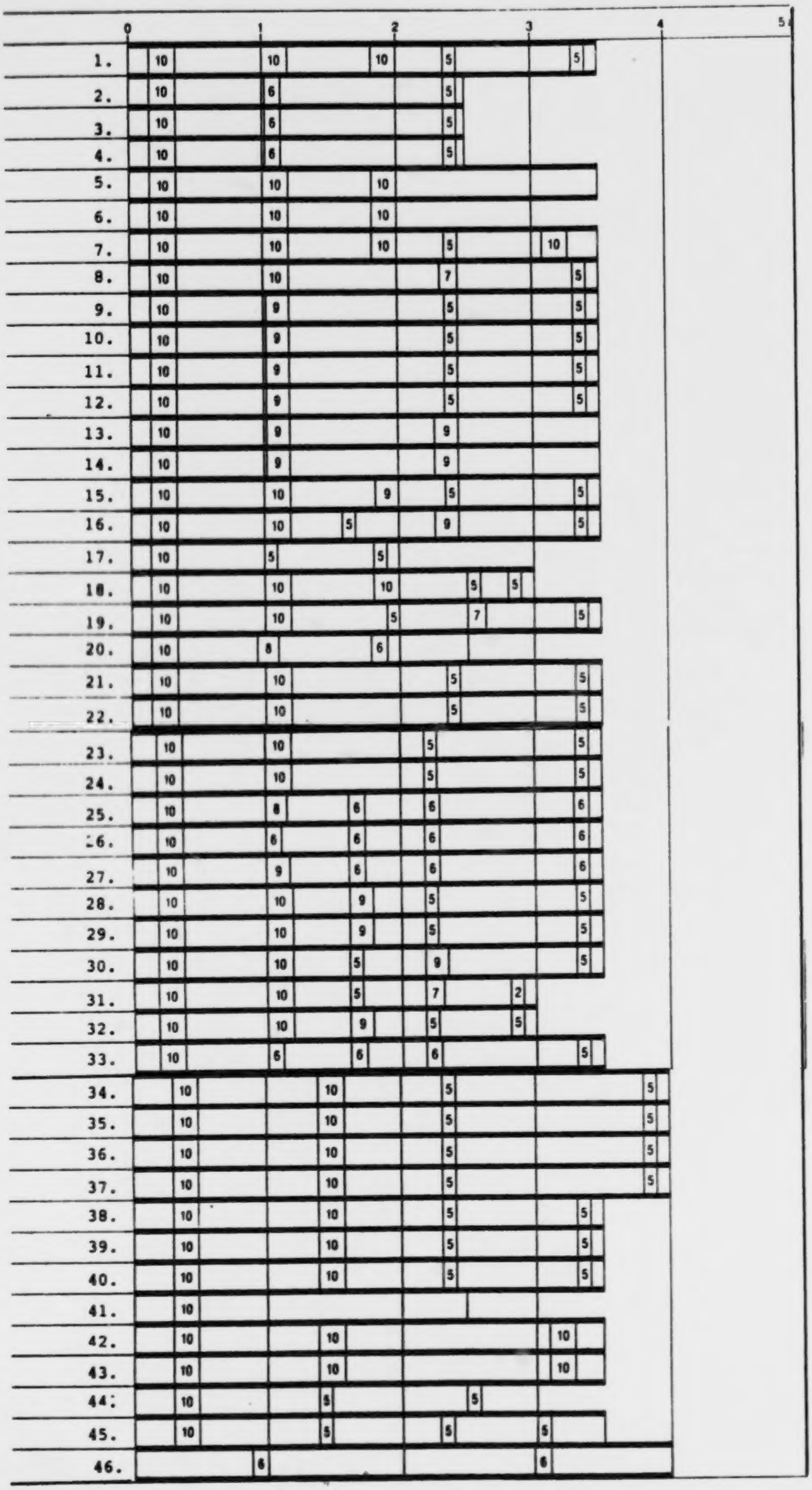


Text to illustration no 3.

1. Fitter
2. Tool maker (cutting & carving tools)
3. Tool maker (moulding-Instruments)
4. Ship-builder
5. Ship-fitter
6. Locksmith
7. Panel beater and construction smith
8. Building and blacksmith (agriculture)
9. Industrial pipesmith
10. Sanitary installations pipesmith
11. Agricultural machine mechanic
12. Contractors-plant mechanic
13. Welder
14. Farrier
15. Industrial moulder
16. Handicraft moulder
17. Fine mechanic
18. Refrigerator fitter
19. Business machine mechanic
20. Radio-TV mechanic
21. Electronics mechanic
22. Computer mechanic
23. Installation and maintenance electrician
    (2.part of these trades falls under the building and construction-field, see illustration no 5)
24. Plant- and machinery maintenance electrician
25. Automation and control equipment fitter
26. Motor mechanic (automobiles)
27. Lorry mechanic
28. Bodysmith/panel beater
29. Moped mechanic
30. Motorcycle mechanic
31. Bicycle mechanic
32. Aircraft mechanic

Illustration no 4

Iron- and metalfield, Apprenticeship-educations

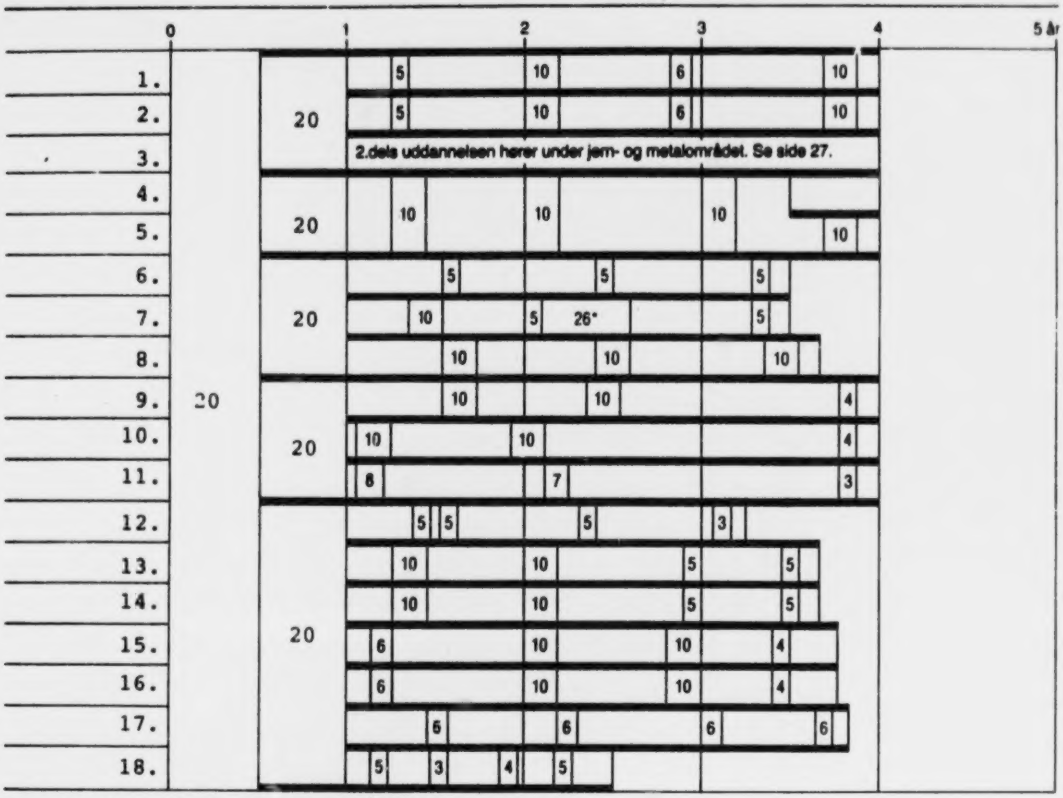


Text to illustration no 4.

1. Fitter
2. Viceworker
3. Turner
4. Milling machineworker
5. Brazier, fittings
6. Metalprinter
7. Toolmaker
8. Shipfitter
9. Locksmith
10. Panel beater and construction smith
11. Blacksmith
12. Building- and blacksmith (agriculture)
13. Brazier
14. Coppersmith
15. Sanitary installations pipesmith
16. Shipbuilder
17. Shipbuilding worksman
18. Welder
19. Agricultural machine mechanic
20. Metal Moalder
21. Fine mechanic
22. Instrument maker
23. Gunsmith
24. Orthopedic remedies maker
25. Electrical fitter
26. Radio-TV-mechanic
27. Electronics mechanic
28. Motor mechanic (automobiles)
29. Lorry mechanic
30. Bodysmith/Panel beater
31. Motorcycle mechanic
32. Contractors plant mechanic
33. Auto-electrician
34. Goldsmith
35. Silversmith, body
36. Silversmith, cutlery
37. Chaser
38. Engraver (steel)
39. Engraver (stamp)
40. Engraver (writing)
41. Iron- and metal grinder
42. Wood-ship-carpenter
43. Boat builder
44. Plastic and ship-fittings boat builder
45. Modelbuilding joiner
46. Glassblower (tubes)

Illustration no 5

Building and construction-field, EFG - vocational educations

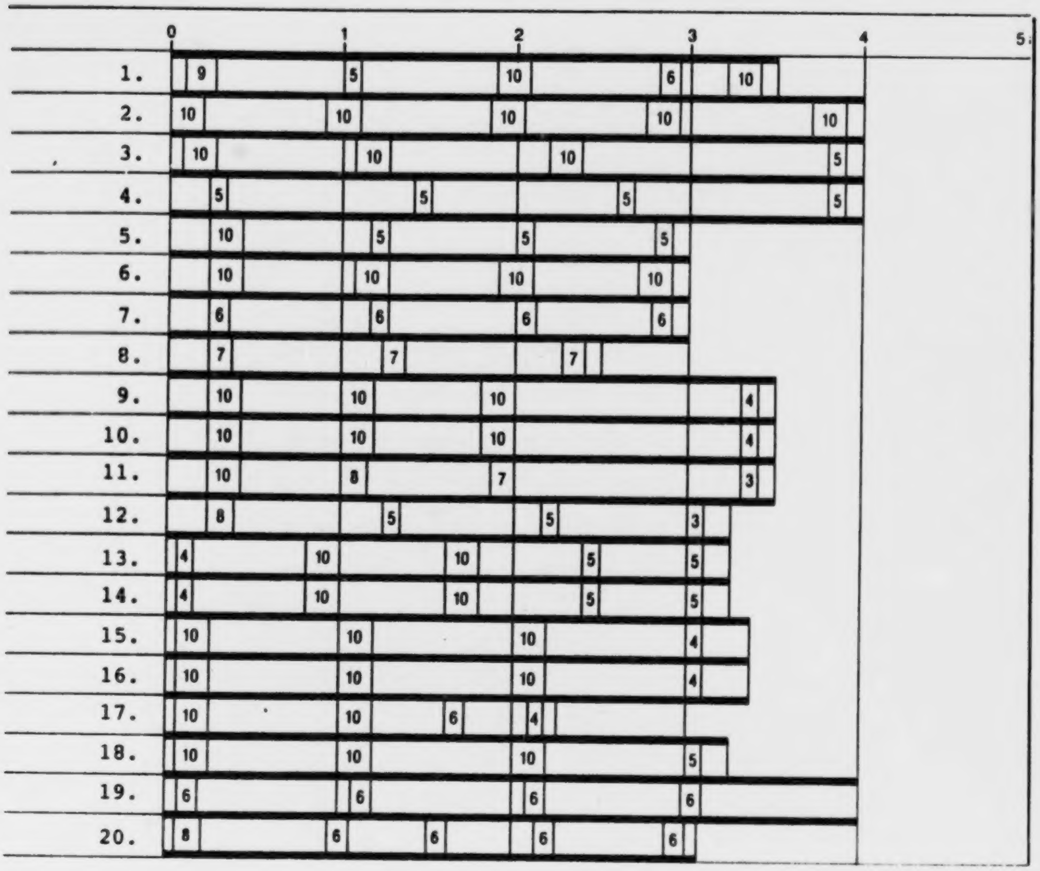


* Denne periode er også skoleundervisning men foregår på en byggeplads.

1. Installation and maintenance electrician
2. Plant- and machinery maintenance electrician
3. Automation and control equipment fitter
   2. part of this trade falls under the metal-and-ironfield, see illustration no 3, line 25.
4. Sanitary installations fitter
5. Plumber
6. Pavior
7. Mason bricklayer
8. Stonecutter and carver
9. Painter (building)
10. Painter (sign writer)
11. Painter (vehicle lacquerer)
12. Building glazier
13. Machine joiner
14. Wood turner
15. Carpenter and joiner (buildings)
16. Furniture joiner
17. Construction carpenter
18. Thermal insulator

Illustration no 6

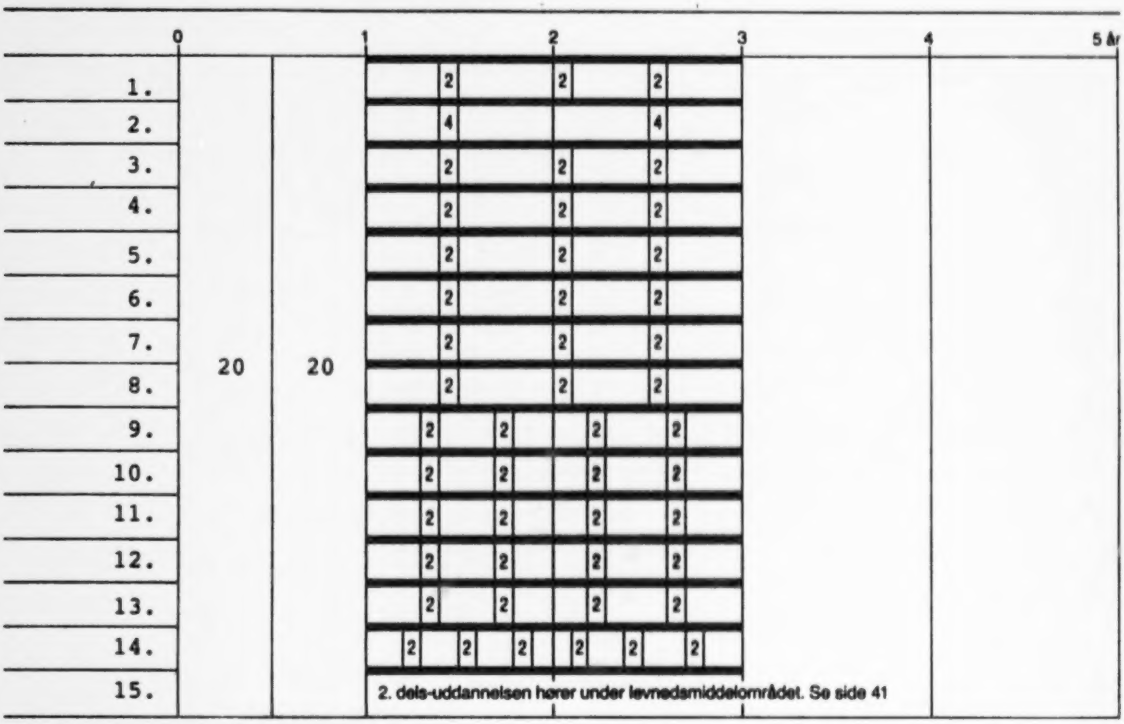
Building and construction-field, Apprenticeship - vocational educations



1. Installation and maintenance electrician
2. Plumber
3. Plant plumber
4. Chimney sweep
5. Pavior
6. Stone cutter and carver
7. Plasterer
8. Paperhanger/building decorator
9. Painter (building)
10. Painter (sign writer)
11. Painter (vehicle lacquerer)
12. Building glazier
13. Machine joiner
14. Wood turner
15. Carpenter and joiner (buildings)
16. Furniture joiner
17. Industrial joiner
18. Organ builder
19. Wood builder
20. Construction carpenter

Illustration no 7

EFG-training schemes within the commercial and administrative trades



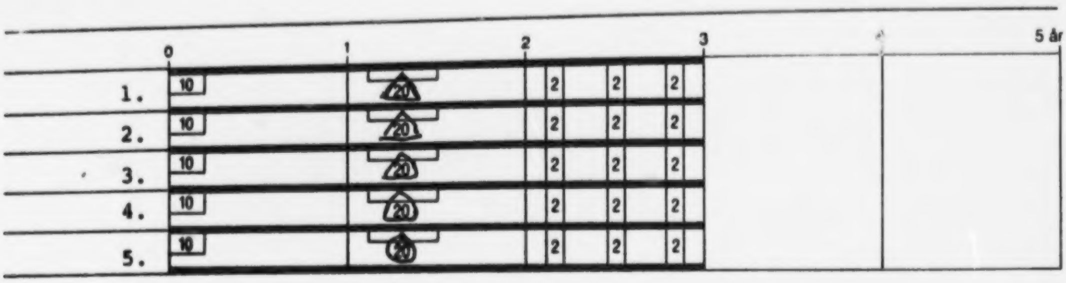
2. dels-uddannelsen hører under levnedsmiddelområdet. Se side 41

* I nogle brancher er der dog 4 skoleophold à 2 uger.

1. Shop, retail trade, all branches
2. Decorator
3. Wholesale, all branches
4. Office/clerical work - all round
5. Accounting
6. EDP
7. Shipbroker
8. Forwarding agency
9. Tourism
10. Banks
11. Savings bank
12. Insurance
13. Municipalities
14. Medical secretary
15. Receptionist

Illustration no 8

Apprenticeship - training schemes within the commercial and administrative trades.



1. Shop, retail trade, all branches
2. Wholesale
3. Office all-round
4. Office, correspondance
5. Office, accounting

The educations lasts 2-3 years, depending on previous schooling and age. The courses for "commercial assistent examination" (HmX) are organized as 4 days school-attendance weekly the first 10 weeks, and as 2 days a week the following 20 week-school-period. The final 3 x 2 weeks branch specific schooling lasts the full schoolweek.

Illustration no 9

Figure table showing intake and stock of pupils in each of the 8 "main fields" of the vocational training system and their distribution at schools 1984.

"Main Field"	Total stock of pupils appr.	Intake* 1984 appr.	Number of EFG- 2. part streamings	Percentage following EFG-schemes	Number of of apprenticeship streamings	Percentage following apprenticeship streamings	Number of schools (TS or HS) educating in the "main field"
Building and construction	16.000	4.900	17	35%	20	65%	32
Printing and Graphic etc	1.800	550	8	75%	3	25%	7
Commercial and administrative	37.000	14.000	15	75%	5	25%	57
Iron and Metal	29.500	8.000	31	45%	45	55%	42
Agriculture and Forestry	2.000	450	8	33%	4	67%	7
Transports	7.000	100	7	100%	-	-	5
Food industries	8.000	3.300	14	80%	11	20%	25
Service Trades	2.500	1.250	25	90%	9	10%	20
	97.500	32.550	125		97		

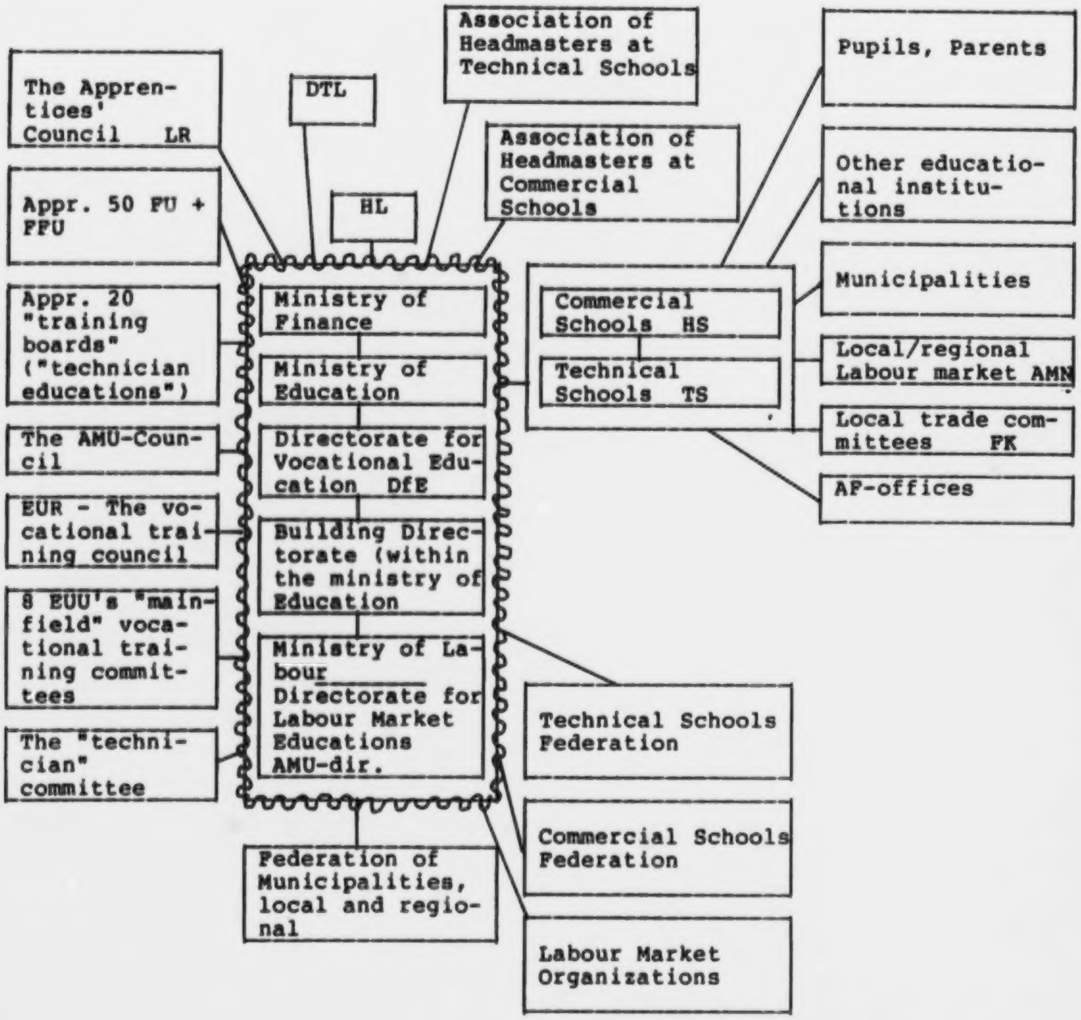
*) Intake: Sum of EFG-pupils starting on 2.part and apprentices.

Source: Physical-geographical planning office in DfE, Development plan for the EFG-basic-education etc. 1986-1995. November 1985.

Appendix III: Organizational diagrams showing internal and external relations of DfE, the Ministry of Education and of AMU-dir., the Ministry of Labour

The diagrams are made on basis of Administrationsdepartementet, august 1986, but are modified and supplemented with the abbreviations used in this report.

Diagram no 1:
External relations of DfE


The Apprentices' Council LR
DTL
Association of Headmasters at Technical Schools
Pupils, Parents
Association of Headmasters at Commercial Schools
HL
Appr. 50 FU + FFU
Other educational institutions
Appr. 20 "training boards" ("technician educations")
Ministry of Finance
Ministry of Education
Commercial Schools HS
Technical Schools TS
Municipalities
Local/regional Labour market AMN
Local trade committees FK
AF-offices
The AMU-Council
Directorate for Vocational Education DfE
EUR - The vocational training council
Building Directorate (within the ministry of Education
8 EUU's "main-field" vocational training committees
Ministry of Labour
Directorate for Labour Market Educations AMU-dir.
Technical Schools Federation
The "technician" committee
Commercial Schools Federation
Federation of Municipalities, local and regional
Labour Market Organizations

∿∿∿ = indicates "the central administration", departments and bodies of government

Diagram no 2:
Organizational structure of DfE

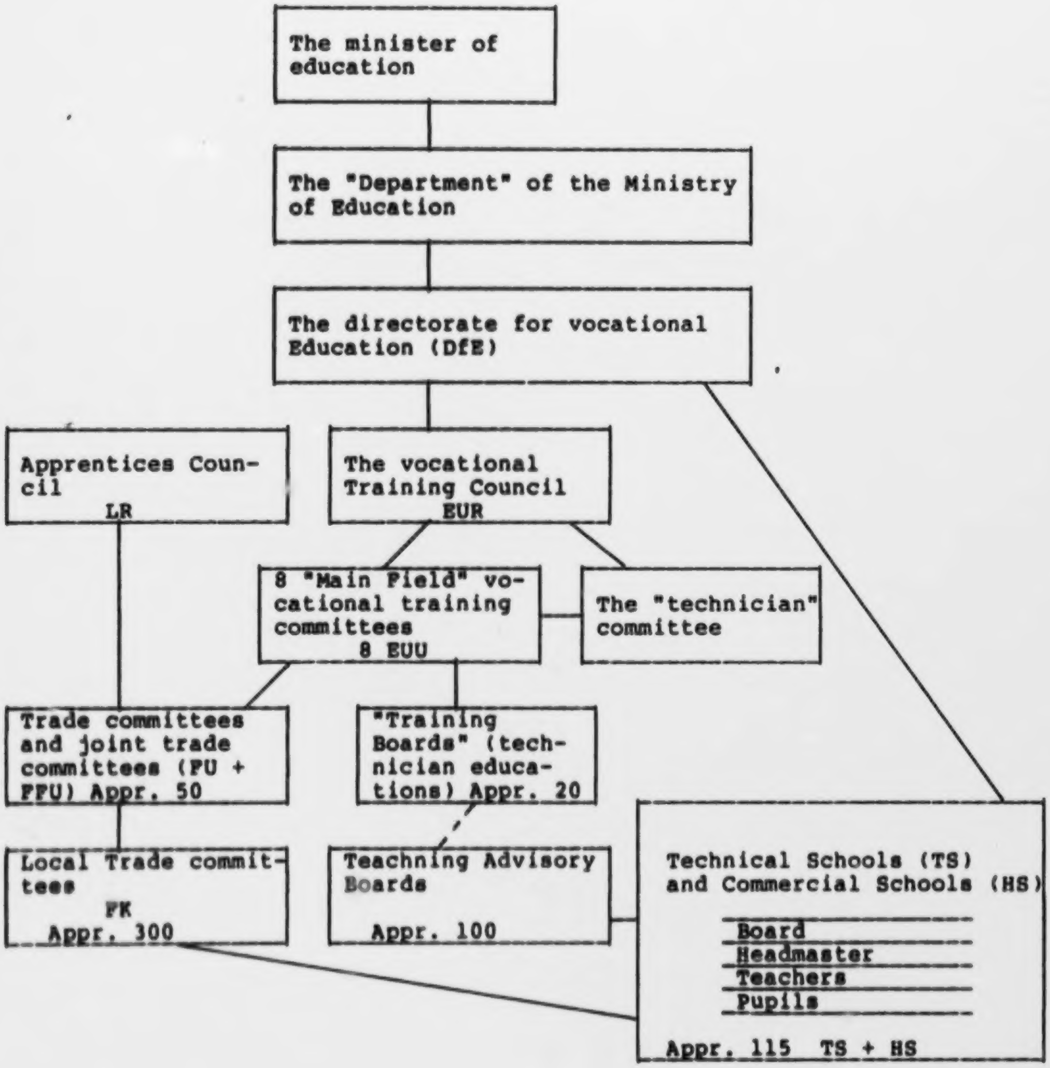
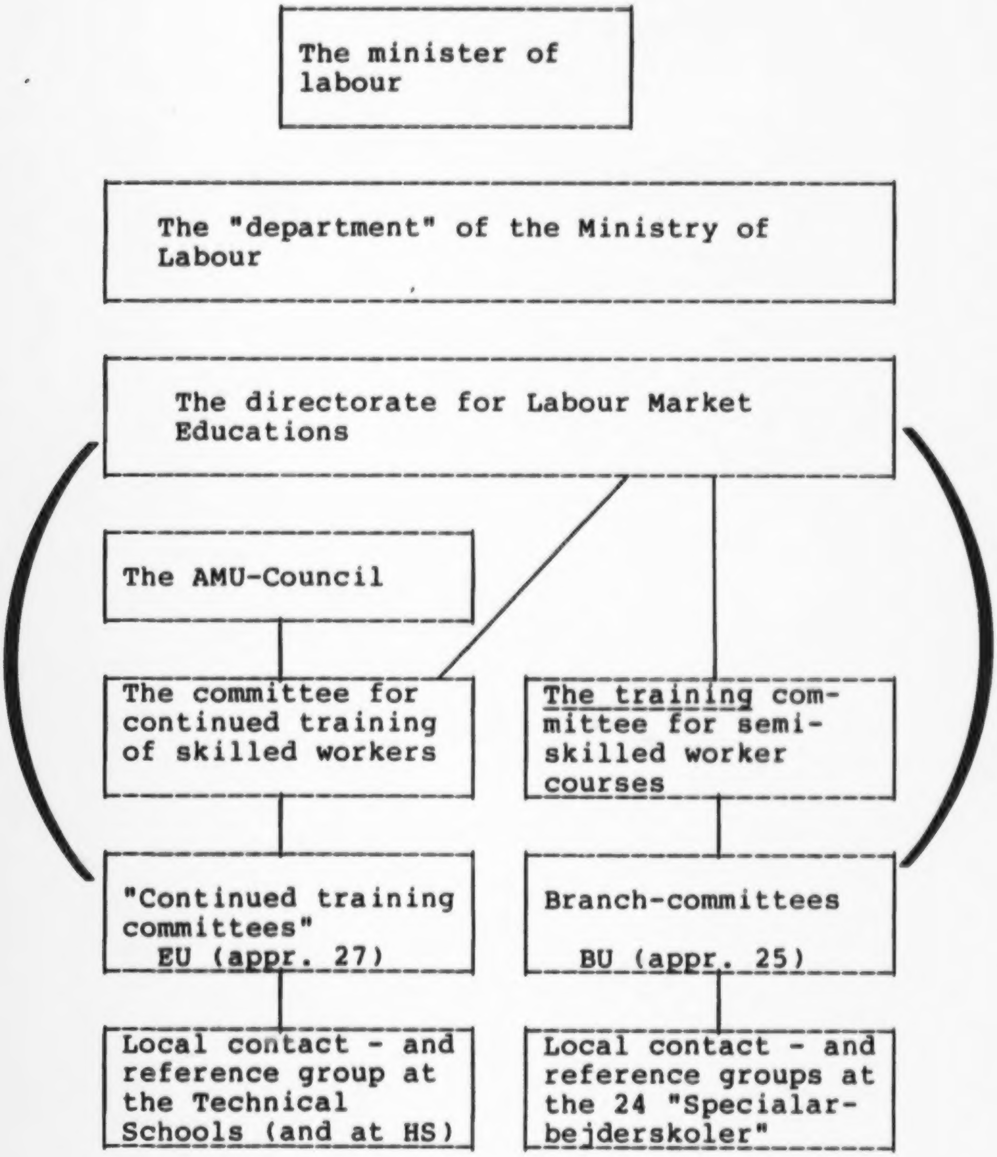

The minister of education
The "Department" of the Ministry of Education
The directorate for vocational Education (DfE)
Apprentices Council LR
The vocational Training Council EUR
8 "Main Field" vocational training committees 8 EUU
The "technician" committee
Trade committees and joint trade committees (FU + FFU) Appr. 50
"Training Boards" (technician educations) Appr. 20
Local Trade committees FK Appr. 300
Teachning Advisory Boards Appr. 100
Technical Schools (TS) and Commercial Schools (HS)
Board
Headmaster
Teachers
Pupils
Appr. 115 TS + HS

Diagram no 3:
Organizational structure of AMU-dir.


The minister of labour
The "department" of the Ministry of Labour
The directorate for Labour Market Educations
The AMU-Council
The committee for continued training of skilled workers
The training committee for semi-skilled worker courses
"Continued training committees" EU (appr. 27)
Branch-committees BU (appr. 25)
Local contact - and reference group at the Technical Schools (and at HS)
Local contact - and reference groups at the 24 "Specialarbejderskoler"

Appendix IV: Survey of public expenditure on youth and adult vocational training and education in Denmark, 1986

Figure table IV.1:

Teaching expenditure at the vocational schools (HS and TS) on base of State Budget for 1986

Commercial Schools (HS)	mill. DKR.
Apprentice-teaching	38,1
EFG-teaching	504,2
Examination-educations	504,4
Other types of teaching	61,8
Other courses, typically continued training	31,2*
Total	1.139,7

Technical Schools (TS)	
Apprentice-teaching	504,0
EFG-teaching	1.095,2
Examination-educations	470,9
Other types of teaching	18,4
Other courses, typically continued training	160,0*
Total	2.284,5

* As a great part of these 31,2 + 160,0 mill DKR - appr. 190 mill. are used on "continued training for skilled workers" they are "double-counted" as part of the 435 mill DKR. mentioned for this programme in figure table IV.2.

Figure tabel IV.2

Teaching expenditure, plus expenditure on grants for covering income-loss of the course participants, for labour market training (the AMU-programmes) on base of State Budget for 1986.

	mill. DKR.
Courses for semi-skilled workers (Specialarbejderkurser)	1.076,1
Continued training for skilled workers	435,4
Vocational introducation-courses (EI)	183,8
Retraining	10,6
LAMU-programmes	40,0
Courses for technicians and foremen	5,0
Training School	8,1
AMU-programmes, total (financed over AUD)	1.759,0

Figure tabel IV.3

General estimate of public expenditure on youth and adult vocational training and education.

On base of figure table IV.1 and IV.2 public expenditure on youth and adult vocational training and education could be summarized as follows:

Apprentice - and EFG - educations:	appr 2.200 mill DKR	youth training and education
"Examination educations" (includning HHX, HTX, technician educations etc):	appr 1.000 mill DKR	
Courses for semi-skilled workers:	appr 1.000 mill DKR	adult training and education
Continued training for skilled workers:	appr 400 mill DKR	

The total amount on the budgets of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Education spent on vocational training and education was, including EI- and LAMU-programmes etc., around 5000 mill DKR in 1986.

Appendix V: Bibliography

Introduction

In note 1 to chapter 2 it was remarked that a danish standard work with reference to the development and history of danish vocational training and education is yet to be written. In the lack of such a standard reference, Nyrop (1893), Hornby (1966), Klöcker-Larsen (1964) and W. Rasmussen (1969) could be mentioned as each delivering a certain contribution to a puzzle for which most of the parts are still missing. In order to give a foreign readership an impression of the general pattern of danish vocational education, it has therefore been necessary to draw on many different types of sources, including the history-writing of the organizations and the negotions of parlament whenever matters of vocational education has been on the agenda, official commitee investigations and so on.

A part of this has already been published in the main report from the PUKKS-project (John Houman Sørensen a.o. 1984), of which the organizational-politological part to a high degree has given shape to the theoretical-methodological foundations - and to a certain extents also functions as a source to enligthen the points-of-view of the social parties - of the present study.

Even if the present study only to a very limited extensions makes explicit theoretical considerations, it has therefore been decided to let the following bibliography incorporate a number of the references, that has been central for the organizational-politological analysis in the PUKKS-project, which implicit has given shape to the concepts and modes of argumentation and reasonning dominating the present analysis.

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Appendix VII: Abbreviations and word explanations

AER - Arbejdsgivernes Elev Refusion = Employers Trainee Reimbursement Scheme (Fund). Established by law nr 272 of 8. june 1977, as a self-administrating Foundation with a governing board, whose membership consists of ½ DA and ½ LO-representatives plus a chairman appointed by the two parties in common. Constributions are been collected among all private employers as a percentage of the wages and salaries yearly paid to their employees. Grants are given to employers to refund them the main part of the wages to apprentices and EFG-practicants during their stay at vocational schools (TS and HS).

AF - Arbejdsformidlingen = Employment Service/Labour Exchange; the local state labour market authorities with responsibility for assignment of work, including assignment to apprentice - and EFG-practicant - workplaces, and responsibility for registrating contracts of apprenticeships and of EFG-part.2.-practice-agreements. Registrating and controlling that unemployed are at the disposal of the labour market, measures against unemployment and implementation of general labour market policy measures also falls within the responsibility of AF.

AKF - Amtskommunernes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut = The research Institute of the municipalities and the regional public authorities. AKF has on a contract with the ministry of Labour made an evaluation of the AMU-programme "continued training of skilled workers", See Funder, Pilegaard Jensen and Nielsen, 1986, in the bibliography.

AMN - Arbejdsmarkedsnævn, tri-parithetical Labour Market Tribunals, made up by regional DA-, LO- and municipalities representatives, having the responsibility for planning labour market policy on regional level, in close cooperation with the regional AF-service and with AF-personel as secretariat.

AMU - Arbejdsmarkedsuddannelserne, Labour Market Training, se chap. 3, sect. 2.

AMU-dir. Direktoratet for Arbejdsmarkedsuddannelserne, The Directorate of AMU, under the Ministry of Labour.

Arbejdsløshedskasse, A-kasse: Unemployment Insurance Funds, closely integrated with the Trade Unions and responsible for paying unemployment benefits, of which the biggest part is financed by public taxes and only a smaller part of wage earners membership-fee/insurance pay to "A-kasse" of his or hers Trade Union.

ATA - 'Arbejdsmarkedspolitikkens tilrettelæggelse og administration', Formation and implementation of labour market policies, title of a collective research project at Aalborg University Centre (AUC), which on contract with the Ministry of Labour carries out the evalution of the AMU-programme "Specialarbejderuddannelserne" (see parallel under "AKF"), see Lassen and Frederiksen, 1986 in the bibliography.

AUD - Arbejdsmarkedets uddannelsesfond, The Labour Market Training Fund, established by law nr 614 of 21. december 1983. The Fund is administrated by the minister of Labour. Contributions are collected from as well the wage earnes as from the employes as a percentage of the Wages and salaries. The percentages is being regulated every year so that it will be able to cover the total expenditure on the AMU-programmes (in 1986 ca 1700 mill DKR), see chapter 3, section 3.3.1.

BU - Brancheudvalg, Branch committees, parithetically training committees running "the semi-skilled worker-courses", in one of the 24 "branches".

CO-metal - Cartel of trade unions having members employed within the metal working industries, among them DM, SiD, KAD, Electricians and more, acting as counterpart in general tariff negotiations with JA.

CT - Centralforeningen af Tømrermestre i Danmark, Central Association of Carpenter Masters in Denmark, member of DA.

DA - Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, National Association of Danish Employers.

DASF - Ealier abbreviation of SiD, see under SiD.

DfE - Direktoratet for Erhvervsuddannelserne, The Directorate for Vocational Education under the Ministry of Education and Science.

DBF - Danske Bankers Forhandlingsorganisation, Danish Banks Negotiation Association, the bank employers organization, which is not a member of DA, but prefers negotiating tariff agreements (with DBL) independently.

DBL - Danske Bankfunktionærers Landsforening, The union of danish bank employees, affiliated to FTF (not to LO).

DM - Dansk Metalarbejderforbund, Danish Skilled Metal Workers Union, earlier abbreviation DSMF (see this).

DS - Dansk Smedemesterforening, Danish Master Smiths Association. DS some places are used as abbreviation of Danmarks Statistik, Danish National Bureau of Statistics, but misunderstandings should not be possible.

DSMF - Dansk Smede- og Maskinarbejder Forbund, after 1972 Dansk Metalarbejderforbund or just "Dansk Metal", DM.

DTL - Dansk Teknisk Lærerforening, Danish association of teacher at Technical Schools.

EFG - Erhvervsfaglige Grunduddannelser, Basic Vocational Training, the reform version of apprenticeship, for which experiments were startet in the late 1960's. An "experimental law" was passed in 1972 and the revised, permanent law on EFG in 1977. The EFG-version of apprenticeship-education is starting with a "basic year", one years education at technical or commercial school, including more general subjects (ca 40% of the time), theoretical instruction and work-shop instruction and practice within the greater field of trade defining one of the 8 streamings of the basic year. Each of these 8 streamings (since 1979, see appendix II) are during the "basic year" gradually parted up in more streamings within their "main trade area". After finishing the "basic year" the pupils have to find an employer/an enterprise willing to employ him or her as "EFG-2.part-practicant" on a contract basis; if they don't succeed in that they won't become a "real" EFG-apprentice and will not be able to fulfill their intented vocational education. The EFG-part 2 is therefore an alternance education, a sandwich course, just the same way as the "master-apprentice"-vocational education following the law of 1956. The difference is primarilly the EFG-apprentices first years school-stay; the total length of the vocational education is practically the same within the same trade, for handicraft - and technical trades in general approximately 4 years, for commercial trades approx. 3 years. A survey of the total structure is given in appendix II. See also "Mesterlære".

EI-området,
EIFL og
EIFU - Erhvervsintroducerende kurser, Introductory Vocational Courses, arranged at "Specialarbejderskolerne" of 7-10 weeks duration with specific programmes for youngsters, long-time-unemployed,

women, immigrants and similar target groups, having special problems with entrance - or re-entrance - to the labour market.

EU - Efteruddannelsesudvalg, "Continued Training for Skilled Workers-Boards", parithetical Boards, which often coincide with - or have quite identical membership as - the FU of the Trade.

EUR - Erhvervsuddannelsesrådet, the supperior advisory Board, responsible for planning and policy of the vocational educatin system in general, i.e. apprentice - EFG and Technician-educations. The EUR-Board has a chairman appointed by the Minister of Education, 6 members appointed by DA, 1 member from SALA (The federation of employers within agriculture), 6 members appointed by LO, 1 by FTF and 2 members from the vocational-teacher-organizations (DTL and HL).

Members of EUR, but without having a vote, are also: 1 representative for respectively
the Ministry of Labour,
the Ministry of Education,
the Federation of Regional Municipalities,
the Federation of Local Municipalities,
the Organization of Leaders of TS,
the Organization of Leaders of HS.
The chairmen of the 8 EUU's are allowed to attend the meetings of EUR.

EUU - Erhvervsuddannelsesudvalg, Vocational training committees, of which there since 1979 has existed 8, corresponding to the 8 EFG-basis-year main sectors. EUU's have coordinating functions in relation to the apprentice - EFG - and technician educations falling within their respective main sectors. The parithetical representation of the DA- and the LO-side is supplemented by representatives for the teachers and the school-head-masters from TS or HS within the main sector.

FK - Fagkommiteer, Trade committees at local level, connected to the different trades at each of the TS or HS. See chapter 3, section 4.3.4.

FTF - Funktionærernes og Tjenestemændenes Fællesråd, central organization or "umbrella organization" for unions of employees/salaried personel (civil servants etc., where LO is central organization for unskilled and skilled workers and AC, Akademikernes Centralorganisation, organizes the professional unions having a membership with an academic education. The three "central organizations", LO, FTF and AC could therefore be said (more or less) to reflect educational status.

FU - Faglige Udvalg, Trade committees, parithetical boards of trade union - and employer/master-organizations within a trade with the competence to accept (or reject) firms as "practice place" for the in-firm training part of apprenticeship - and EFG education in the trade. The FU is responsible, too, for giving rules for the content and organization of in-firm-training.

FFU - Fælles faglige udvalg, Joint trade committees, with the same compentences as a FU, but covering a number of related trades.

HHX - Højere Handelseksamen, Higher Commercial Examination, see chapter 4, section 7.

HK - Handels- og kontorfunktionærernes Forbund i Danmark, The trade union of workers within commerce and office, membership around 300.000, affiliated to LO.

HK-området Handels- og kontor-uddannelserne, the vocational education within the commerce and office-sector, 1 of the 8 EUU-"main areas".

HL - Handelsskolernes Lærerforening, The organization of teachers at commercial vocational Schools (HS).

Hmx - Handelsmedhjælpereksamen, Commercial assistants examination, se chapter 4.7.

HO - Hovedorganisationen Byggefagenes Mesterforeninger, Central Organization of Masters within the Building Trades (Carpenters - Joiners and Bricklayer Masters mainly) - an employers association outside DA, doing independent tariff negotiations and agreements with the trades unions. HO also holds places of their own in the FU-FFU-system.

HR - Håndværksrådet (tidligere Fællesrepræsentationen for Dansk Industri og Haandværk),"Organisationen for Danske Håndværk og mindre Industri" - the Council of Handicraft Masters, ealier named "The Common Representation of danish manufacture and handicraft, today the HR refers to itself as "the organization for danish handicraft and smaller industry". HR could not be called an employers organizations, as it doesn't conduct tariff negotiations or acts as direct counterpart to the trade unions. HR has, as its parallel for the greater enterprices, Industrirådet (The Council for Industry), primarilly protection of the vocational interest of its membership, i.e. in relation to legislation public support programmes for industry, taxation, foreign trades policy etc., as its Function. But, where members of "Industrirådet" normally also are members of DA, this is not the case in HR of whos membership quite many are not members of DA.

HS - Handelsskole(r), Commercial Schools or Business Schools, having education of EFG- and apprentices within the HK-area as main activity.

Hx - Handelseksamen, Commercial examination, see chapter 4.7.

IR - Industrirådet, The Council for Industry, see under HR.

JA - Jernets Arbejdsgiverforening, "The Employers of the Iron", before 1980 named "The Federation of Employers in the Metal Working Industries" (SAM).

JU - Jernets uddannelsesfond, "The training Fund of the social partners in the metal working industries", see chapter 4, section 4.3.

KAD - Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund i Danmark, Female (unskilled) Workers Union, approx 100.000 members, primarilly employed in manufacturing industry in job positions, where SiD would organize the workers if they where men, but where KAD organizes the women - and only women.

Kons. - Det konservative Folkeparti, The conservative Party, see "politiske partier".

KT - Københavns Tømrerlaug, The Guild of Carpenters in Copenhagen (member of DA).

LAMU - Længerevarende arbejdsmarkedsuddannelser, "Labour Market Training Courses of Longer Duration" is an offer, organized by "Specialarbejderskolerne" for unemployed over 25 years of age, who has served a "work opportunity offer" arranged by AF. LAMU-courses lasts for between 15 and 26 weeks.

LO - Landsorganisationen, The national federation of trade unions, the danish TUC, earlier abbreviated DsF, The cooperating trade unions of Denmark. Central organization - or "umbrella organization" (see under FTF) for the trade unions of skilled and unskilled workers - and an unity organization (no political or religions cleavages or serious competing central organizations; the LO is as a whole by statute closely connected to the Social Demoratic Party, who has two representatives in the governing board of LO - and the opposite way, too: LO is represented in the Party's leadership).

LR - LærlingerÅdet, The Council for Apprenticeship-matters, having not only advisiry but also several decisive powers according to the 1956-law.

MB - Metalindustriens Brancheudvalg, The Branch Committee (BU) of the Metal Working Industries, responsible for "specialarbejderuddannelsen" within the metal working sector.

"Mester
lære" - Master-apprenticeship - in accordance with the rules in law nr 261 of 2. october 1956. The apprenticeship-education becomes established by setting up a contract (standarized) between the apprentice-to-be and an employer. After signing the contract, the apprentice starts working in the firm, but are at the same time being registrated as a pupil with a right to instruction at vocational school (TS og HS), where the apprentice will attend school in 3 to 4 periods, totally counting 30-40 weeks during the total "learning time" of appr. 3½ to 4 years, ending with a test/examination to determine whether the apprentice can get "the journey-mans certificate" (svendebrev). See also under "EFG", and the figures and explanations in appendix II.

ML - Metalindustriens Lærlingeudvalg, The Apprentice Board of the Metal Industry, FFU for as well the trades of smiths, fitters mechanics as for several other metal trades.

Politiske
partier- Political Parties.

The abbrievations "V", "RV", "Kons." and "SD" covers "the 4 old" political parties in Denmark.

It will lead too far to explain a non-danish readership about the many other parties that has existed, both to the wright and the left - and also in the center, in relation to the 4 old parties. For very long danish parliamentary politics could be understood as a two-wing system.

The "bourgeais" wing consisted of Kons., the conservative party, popularily explained as representing the interests of independents within industri and commerce, and the high-income-groups in the cities more broadly, and "V", Venstre, the liberal party, with its roots in agriculture and in the rural districts in general.

In "Landstinget", the second chamber of the legislative body, existing up to 1953 (where the constitution was revised, so that there since then only is one chamber of the danish parlament, The "Folketinget"), did Kons. and V hold the absolute majority up to 1936.

The other wing consisted of RV (the "Radical Left", a social-liberal party, popularily explained as representing independents from smaller farms, from handicraft, teachers, intellectuals and liberal professions in the cities) and SD, the Social democratic Party, representing the working class and closely connected to the trade union movement, LO.

From 1913 to 1920 did RV and SD together form a majority in "Folketinget", the 1. chamber of Parliament, and RV formed a minority government with parliamentary support from SD.

1920-24 did V form the government, supported by Kons.
1924-26 did S form the government, supported by RV
1926-29 did V form the government, supported by Kons.
1929-40 did SD and RV form a coalition-government with majority in Folketinget.

Up to 1936 did the SD-RV-government live under the condition that laws had to pass the readings in the 2. chamber "Landstinget", where V and Kons. had the majority.

The passing of the Apprenticeship-law in 1937 has to be seen in this context.

The apprenticeship-law of 1956 was brought into living under a SD-minority-government in a period where RV held the key to forming a majority in parliament. In 1960 SF - "Socialistic Peoples Party" showed up on the parliamentary scene and since then an alternativ majority to the left, SD + SF, has been a potential possibility. Such a "red majority" has existed in 1966-67 and in 1971-73, both times with a SD-minority government as the outcome. Following this development, the RV has changed its earlier disposition of being support party to either SD-minority governments or (after WWII) to "V and Kons." minority governments, and instead participated directly in the governments. From 1968 to 1971 the RV lead a majority coalition government, formed by RV, V and Kons.

The EFG-experiment law in 1972 was passed under a SD-government with SF-support. The permanent EFG-law in 1977 was passed under a SD-minority government living under the condition of a Folketingdominated by bourgeais, but very divided, parties.

Since 1982 has V and Kons., together with two smaller center-wright-parties formed a minority-government, dependent on RV-support. Under this government the AMU-law and the "Continued Education and Training-law" has been passed, and preparatory commitee-work for a revision of the apprentice-and-EFG-legislation is close to being finished (june 1987).

RAS - Registerbaseret Arbejdsstyrke Statistik, (Computer)Register Based Labour Force Statistics.

RUE - Rådet for Uddannelses- og Erhvervsvejledning, The Council for Educational and Vocational Guidance, which - among other activities - yearly publishes a guidance pamphlet describing the apprenticeship - and EFG - vocational educations, used as source for appendix II.

RV - Radikale Venstre, see Political Parties.

SAM - Sammenslutningen af arbejdsgivere i Metalindustrien, se under JA.

SD - Socialdemokratiet, Social Democratic party, see Political Parties.

ST-forbundet - Snedker-Tømrerforbundet, The Trade Union of Carpenters and Joiners.

TF-arbejde - Teknisk-faglig undersøgelse af nye kvalifikationsbehov, Technical-Vocational investigation of new qualification requirements within a trade/a branch. Normally a T-F-report, describing the revised objectives of training within a trade, is followed by a TP-investigation, describing how teaching in the vocational schools ought to be changed for each of the subjects, followed by teaching-guidance and a guidance for instruction-materials, tools, machinery etc. recommended for the teachng and work-shop instruction in the trade.

TP-arbejde - Technical-pedagogical-investigation, see under "TF-arbejde".

TS - Tekniske skole(r), Technical Schools, having education of EFG- and Apprentices within the handicraft - and technical trades, as main activity.

V - Venstre, see Political Parties.

VTP - Virksomhedstilpassede kurser indenfor AMU-systemet, Firm-adapted AMU-courses, see chapter 6, section 2.2.

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CEDEFOP — European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

The role of the social partners in youth and adult vocational education and training in Denmark

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in cooperation with
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